

T./SDR/4/1247

INSIDE: Beyond Bookchin, Anarchy at the Democratic Convention, Kill the Car, Earth First!, Sex & Pleasure Activism

Fifth estate

Vol. 31#2 (348)

Fall 1996

\$2.00

The Unabomber

& the future of
technological
society

See page 5





s President Clinton delivered his nomination acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention (DNC) talking about "a bridge to the 21st century," a half a mile away Chicago police were raiding a building housing anarchists from the Active Resistance Counter-Convention (AR).

"I don't need a search warrant. You're a subversive and you're conspiring to overthrow the U.S. Government!" said one of the cops who searched our belongings, while others pepper-sprayed, kicked and threatened us.

For three sweaty weeks this summer I worked with AR counter-convention, a ten-day anarchist conference, coinciding with the August 26-29 Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

AR marked a big step forward in anarchist/radical organizing and community building in North America. After fifteen years of working on direct action and anarchist campaigns and projects, AR made me hopeful about the potential for a powerful mass movement based on anti-authoritarian principles.

Idea for Active Resistance

The idea for AR came two years prior at a Midwest anarchist gathering, when the location for the Democratic convention was announced. Local activists recognized it would draw folks to Chicago, providing an opportunity to organize a constructive gathering that would go beyond simply protesting the Democrats. People from across the country, especially the Midwest and Mid-Atlantic, were involved in the planning, with the bulk of the logistics taken on by Chicago Autonomous Zone organizers.

AR scheduled most of the Counter-Convention between August 21-25, leaving the August 26-29 DNC period unscheduled so participants could plan and participate in the Festival of the Oppressed, demonstrations or attend the free skool. Morning activities included presentations about current organizing and activism, time for caucuses and networks to meet, puppet building, and a daily radical dance class.

Afternoons were spent in "core" discussion groups divided into three topics: 1) collectives, cooperatives and alternative economics; 2) community organizing; and 3) building revolutionary movements. This was the most ambitious part of AR, allowing for in-depth discussion, planning, and networking to build our oppositional movements and alternative institutions.

Each core section presentation was put together by a group of activists involved in the topic. Core groups met three hours daily and at the end of five days, met to "pull the pieces together."

While the discussions did not completely fulfill the ambitious goal of "creating an infrastructure for resistance communities," they did move in that direction by setting a tone and making space for serious discussions about our theory and practice. Some projects and networks came out of the core sections as well as lots of informal contacts, friendships and general community building.

A pamphlet based on discussions which developed models of what community organizing around anarchist principles would look like is being put together by the Chicago A-Zone. In Oakland, Calif. activists inspired by AR discussions are meeting to plan an anarchist-based organizing project where they live, and a class on this is being offered at the local free skool (contact the Long Haul in Berkeley).

Evenings were time for free skool, skill

Anarchy In Chicago

Active Resistance at the Democratic Convention: Planting Seeds for an Anarchist Movement

by David Solnit

sharing workshops, and presentations and discussions of approximately a hundred different topics as varied as direct action planning, freight hopping, non-monogamous relationships, Zapatista updates, and farming.

Moments of Unabashed Pleasure

AR was jam-packed with events and activities: radical history bus tours took participants to important sites, such as the Haymarket Memorial and Emma Goldman's grave at Waldheim Cemetery, 1880s working class districts, and the area where 1960's urban rebellions occurred; an evening of revolutionary culture and talks; an Unconventional Film and Video Festival; a tribute to murdered Chicago

Black Panther Fred Hampton; a basketball tournament (A.B.A.—Anarchist Basketball Association); and the Propaganda Gallery, an installation of art and images of resistance.

There also moments of unabashed pleasure provided by bands, skinny-dipping at a full moon lake-side party, wild dancing, and great food provided daily by Seeds of Peace who even brought lunch to the cemetery following the radical bus tour.

750 people from the U.S., Canada, and a few from Mexico and Europe, registered for the event during its ten days. Being around so many people who applied their beliefs day-to-day to their households, farms, collectives, communities, cultural activity and resistance organizing, inspired



The Corporate Power tower is dragged by its victims. Later, following a rebellion, it is transformed into utopian scenes of anarchy. — photo/Susan Simensky Bietila

and activated both fresh and seasoned activists.

The Whole World Is Watching... Lies

The Democratic convention was a major publicity event designed to create a mask of electoral democracy concealing the corporate elites that control both parties and most of the wealth, government and media in this country. Chicago spent millions of dollars hosting the Democrats, and creating a tidy facade by planting flowers and trees, painting bridges, and clearing vacant lots. Police forced homeless people off high visibility streets, such as Michigan Avenue.

The convention took place at the United Center on Chicago's West Side, surrounded by the desperately poor, Horner housing project and a desolate industrial area. Three of the Horner high-rise towers were torn down in anticipation of the convention and their residents kicked out with only temporary housing vouchers. Some local corner stores—the only food supplies around—were also shut down.

Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley orchestrated a major effort to blow away the ghosts of the 1968 Democratic convention. Daley's dad, the mayor at that time, had ordered the brutal attack and tear gassing of thousands of anti-war activists in the streets outside the convention by cops and National Guard troops.

Unlike the 1968 convention, this time thousands of national and international reporters made sure "the whole world was watching" and reading what the Democrats and the current Daley wanted them to.

Initially, city officials refused to grant permits for any march during the convention, except ones which would walk on the sidewalks and cross with the lights. To further contain demonstrations which the city was afraid could "get out of hand," a giant, chain-link, caged parking lot, out of view of the United Center, was set up as the official protest area. However, after a legal battle, the "Not On the Guest List" coalition won a court ruling allowing street demonstrations.

Real Puppets vs. Corporate Puppets

Puppet/street theater/mural folks from San Francisco and a maskmaker from Chicago set up an ongoing, week-long mask, puppet and prop building workshop. Over one hundred people participated in making giant puppets, constructing papier mache and cardboard masks and props, and building and decorating a 20-foot-high Corporate Power tower. When completed, we took our creations and theater into the streets.

On Sunday, August 25, a large anarchist contingent, carrying an elaborate representation of the U.S./Mexico border, joined Mexican, Puerto Rican and other activists in an immigrant rights march. The U.S./Mexico border prop, with flames along the bottom and heads and hands peering through concertina wire on top, was made by Mexican and southern California activists with *Ni Estados, Ni Fronteras* (No State, No Borders) scrawled across it.

We also carried a giant red banner reading, "Anarchist Solidarity, Viva Zapata, No One is Illegal, No Borders," and a giant rage puppet carried a "No One is Illegal" sign. When the march, joined by one from another neighborhood, entered the DNC protest area, our contingent, unwilling to walk into the official cage, slowly dispersed.

On Tuesday, August 27, the puppet procession, followed by a large, lively anarchist contingent (many organized into affinity groups), participated in the "No Justice No Peace" march on the convention grounds.

Continued on page 3

Tales From The Planet



According to David Brower, the ecology elder "archdruid," the Clinton administration has done more harm to the environment than either preceding right-wing Republican presidents. For instance, Clinton's signature on the infamous salvage rider bill allows extensive clear cutting in America's forests such as Northern California's Headwaters and Cove/Mallard in Idaho.

Clinton also signed another rider this year giving the go-ahead to the University of Arizona's plans to build unneeded telescopes on Mt. Graham which is Apache sacred land and home to the endangered red squirrel. The rider exempts the telescope project from all cultural, religious, and environmental laws.

Justice Department lawyers appeared in Tucson recently to oppose Apache and environmental challenges to the clearing of old-growth trees to make way for a third telescope on Mt. Graham's East Peak. Sure glad the evil, anti-environmental Bob Dole isn't going to be president.

Clifford Harper, the English anarchist artist whose work graces so many anti-authoritarian publications and posters, suffered a heart attack last year and almost died. Now, he has trouble working because of his health, he's broke and British tax collectors are hounding him. Clifford needs a morale boost and some mutual aid. Contact him at 78 Crofton Rd., London SE5 8NA, England.

Six protesters arrested at last year's National Governors Association conference in Burlington, Vt. (See Spring 1996 FE; p. 3) for defending the life of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal won a victory in June when a judge permitted the use of a necessity defense.

Those arrested will argue they had to break the trespass law at the Sheraton Hotel to get the attention of Pennsylvania's Governor Tom Ridge, who signed Mumia's execution order, and would not come out to speak to protesters.

Scheduled to testify at the trial are historian and civil disobedience expert Howard Zinn, Native American activist and FBI counter-intelligence program ex-

pert Ward Churchill, and Mumia's attorney, Leonard Weinglass.

Tax-deductible donations to cover legal costs of this important trial can be sent to the Mumia Solidarity Coalition made payable to Native Forest Network and earmarked for MSC. Send to PO Box 57, Burlington, VT 05402; (802) 863-0571.

—Anne Petermann/NFN Bulletin

1996 raids on fur farms by the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) has been such effective economic sabotage that this vicious industry has suffered significant financial losses. So far this year, over 25,000 mink were illegally released from a dozen U.S. fur farms in eight states. An additional 8,000 were freed from similar Canadian facilities resulting in \$1 million losses.

Although it's unsettling to put a price on a living creature, at \$30 a pelt, U.S. fur farmers suffered \$750,000 lost revenue from freed animals. In addition, the destruction of killing sheds, breeding records and farm buildings meant further losses to the industry. Estimates go even higher when unreported actions are factored in.

In response to the raids, North American Fur Auctions (NAFA), an industry clearinghouse, fearing that their producers would be driven out of business (despite new markets in the Far East) created a blanket insurance policy offering protection for farmers shipping through them. However, the policies contain a \$25,000 deductible and only cover losses to \$250,000. In light of the fact that a single action in British Columbia in 1995 was estimated at \$632,000, this policy would offer little protection from ALF.

This year, ALF struck frequently across North America. Raids took place in Sheboygan, Wis., Victor, N.Y., Sandy, South Jordan and Riverton, Utah., Langley, B.C., Howard Lake, Minn., and Alliance, Ohio.

Generally, governments turn up the heat when social movements go beyond getting the word out, to getting the job done.

No exception to the rule, both Canada and the U.S. set a price on the heads of ALF activists. The fur industry is demanding ALF activists be targeted for a continent-



Reclaiming the streets: Kids and parents play in a sand pile dropped in the middle of the M41 motorway outside London, part of thousands participating in an anti-road protest. photo—Alec Smart

On 13 July, trains carrying 1000-plus assorted ravers, revelers and road protesters arrived at London's Shepherd's Bush rail station and disgorged its radical occupants. A signal was given by someone waiting in the wings, and the first 500 ravers were unleashed. This was the third London Reclaim The Streets action (See Spring 1996 FE) and by far the most radical.

Police crews filmed everyone exiting the station and several hundred police were already on hand to prevent access to a tempting traffic roundabout.

People spent an hour milling around while drummers beat out rhythms and a bagpiper entertained the crowd as a dreadlocked man undressed and revealed himself to the rigid line of Metropolitan police.

A back lane was discovered behind the station by the crowd which suddenly seethed around and onto the adjacent M41 Motorway completely blocking motor traffic. The police realised too late they had been outflanked, but as if to console themselves, snatched eight people randomly from the front line of movers and shakers.

With the M41 completely shut down, two sound systems, on the back of cur-

wide criminal investigation. The RCMP (Canada's FBI) says, "There is a major investigation. This is a major concern." The cops are offering a substantial reward for the arrest of individuals involved in the raids. In the U.S., \$100,000 has been put up.

Information about ALF and ALF actions is available from NA-ALFSG Box 69597 5845 Yonge St., Willowdale, Ont., Canada. M2M 4K3; (subs for the publication *Underground* are on a sliding scale of \$20-30 a year); and the Coalition To Abolish the Fur Trade, PO Box 822411, Dallas, Texas 75382, newsletter and a how-to book, *The Final Nail*; \$2.—Maya

Dept. of We Told You So: Cyril Ramaphosa, who lead a crippling 1987 strike of black South African miners against apartheid, and most recently, an ANC official, led the signing of the purchase of 25 percent of that country's largest corporation, which controls diamond and gold mining. Ramaphosa joined with other old ANC comrades to form a consortium of black investors to become part of the ruling economic structure. Meanwhile, conditions only worsen for the dwellers of Soweto. Isn't this *Animal Farm* with a South African setting?

Hegins, Pa. has hosted a Labor Day pigeon shoot for 62 years and for the last several, the Fund for Animals has protested it. This year, 12 activists chained themselves together in two groups of six, forming a human octopus. Each group occupied a killing field, delaying the planned shooting of 5000 birds. Police worked frantically to cut the activists loose, but were unable to do so for four hours.—photo/Mike Chiado

tained hire-trucks drove into place and began pumping out generator-powered sound as the police were driven back. An adjacent housing estate revealed food stalls, furniture, carpets, a third sound system and various props, all prearranged for the event all of which were carted onto the roadway.

By 14.00 hours, a two kilometre stretch of the motorway was crowded with an estimated 5,000 to 7,000 people, many of who arrived in fancy dress. Perhaps the most bizarre theatrics of the day came from two women, dressed in Edwardian period costume, who climbed into enormous billowing skirts stretched over circular frames eight metres high. The frames were wheeled through the throng and, unbeknownst to the neighbouring revelers, one of the giant skirts hid a jackhammer which was used to dig several holes in the highway tarmac.

Two trees were planted as a symbol of the damage done to the environment by roads. The Highways Agency estimated damage to the road surface was £20,000. The trees were later torn out and the highway restored.

The demonstrations seek to lessen society's reliance on private petroleum-powered vehicles, improve public transport facilities and create communities planned and built within pedestrianised zones.

—Alec Smart, Black, White and Green, 10 Waterloo Place, Brighton, BN2 2NB, East Sussex, U.K.

Fifth estate

The Fifth Estate is a cooperative, nonprofit project, publishing since 1965. The people who produce it are a group of friends who do so neither to secure wages nor as an investment in the newspaper industry, but to encourage resistance and rebellion to an unjust and destructive society.



The Fifth Estate (ISSN No. 0015-0800) is published quarterly at 4632 Second Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48201 USA; Phone (313) 831-6800. Our office hours vary, so please call before visiting. Subscriptions are \$8.00 for four issues; \$10.00 foreign including Canada. Periodical Mail postage paid at Detroit, Michigan. No copyright. No paid advertisements.

Postmaster: Send address changes to: Fifth Estate, 4632 Second Ave., Detroit MI 48201 USA.



Chicago Anarchy

Continued from page 1

tion to "protest Clinton and the Democrats' politics of repression and brutality." The march was called to "stand up against the racism and classism of the criminal justice system, free all political prisoners, stop police brutality and abolish the death penalty." We made up a quarter of the 1500 person march organized by the Not On the Guest List coalition.

Leaving from Wicker Park, the march went through the neighborhood and towards the convention site two miles away. The anarchist street theater procession featured the Corporate Power tower—a combination high rise office building and headless businessman holding giant, ten-foot-high Clinton and Dole puppets on strings. The tower was dragged along by costumed "voters," "taxpayers," "workers," and "consumers." Its unseen casualties followed behind, including a stump of deforestation, single moms, endangered species, and hody bags of health care and education.

Puppet police in giant pig heads with their cardboard barricades ordered people to move and mingled with the real cops. Puppet media (See-BS TV) interviewed spectators with a cardboard camera and mike as a TV puppet showed a moving scroll of collaged images. At the height of the procession, people chanting, "Rise up," rebelled against corporate power and the four walls of the top half of the Corporate Power tower collapsed, unveiling a giant red fist and murals on the backside of each wall illustrating positive future visions. Two giant colorful warrior/goddess liberation puppets flew out and circled the crowd.

We staged the uprising against Corporate Power tower as the march came in sight of the United Center. March organizers planned a civil disobedience action blocking delegate traffic into the convention, but police had rerouted traffic. Only Countermmedia reporter Jeff Pearlstein was arrested while he was interviewing two kids from the Horner projects.

During the Convention the anti-abortion fanatics from Operation Rescue staged actions against women's clinics. People from AR provided the primary clinic defense at which a Countermmedia videographer was arrested.

Revolution as Festival of Oppressed

On the last day of the convention, AR organizers scheduled a celebratory street theater procession, the Festival of the Oppressed, through the Wicker Park West Side neighborhood. This was the only anarchist-organized demonstration during the convention, so we decided not to march to the United Center public relations farce, but creatively appeal to the community we were in.

As we assembled our puppets in the park, our police liaison, Guin, told a police supervisor we had our own traffic safety marshals and the route would be disclosed as we went. The cop said he couldn't assure our safety if we didn't tell him the entire route, but we didn't expect any hassles. The city had gone to great lengths in their publicity campaign about how well behaved their cops would be,

and they had been pretty low key at all the demos that week.

We chose a route through the Wicker Park neighborhood's most visible streets using all the puppets, props and masks we made during the previous week, and a bunch more that Wise Fool Puppet Intervention brought. The procession was led by a ten-foot-high hanner with Tony's incredible AR mural of colorful, collaged images of anarchy, community and culture, including a classic graphic of the Haymarket Martyrs.

The anti-nuclear Shundahai Network brought up the rear, hauling a giant mock nuclear waste cask, and a high energy drum corps accompanied us. It was definitely a puppet theater procession, not a traditional demonstration with almost no signs or banners in sight. Community response was positive with people coming out of stores and houses to watch.

The police began forcing us off the sidewalk on Milwaukee Avenue, and a line of mounted police pushed us into one lane. Halfway up Ashland Avenue, the cops roughly grabbed a man from Countermmedia for no apparent reason. When our police liaison, Guin, went to find out why, the cops tried to push him back. He stood his ground, but was thrown down and dragged away. After a tense standoff, the police line hacked up a bit and we pushed forward.

Then, a mounted cop charged into the crowd, and his horse crushed the foot of Kristian, one of the marchers. He was carried to the sidewalk where people iced his foot and put him in the Shundahai vehicle. Police stopped the van on North Avenue and arrested Kristian and four

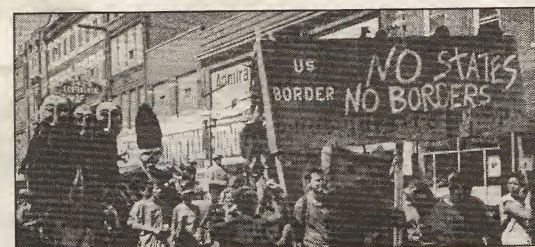
others. Also, on Thursday, police arrested five activists from the Festival of Light, a group including some old Yippies, who staged an encampment at Grant Park and led protests around drug legalization and other issues. They were charged with felony mob action and felony battery for alleged actions during the Not on the Guest List march. The police claimed a lone bottle was thrown at them. Chicago activists report a grand jury is being convened to investigate these ridiculous charges.

The following day, AR and Countermmedia held a demonstration and press conference at the 14th district police headquarters to publicize the raid and arrests, and pressure the police to release those still in jail. Speakers from AR, Countermmedia, The National Lawyers Guild, Festival of Light, and the property manager from whom we had rented the Ballroom and Spice Factory took turns in front of a podium made of a giant puppet of liberation head condemning the police. At the end of the conference/demo, the

Police Raid at the Ballroom

That evening, an estimated 100 Chicago police gathered in a dark parking lot near the two sites used for AR conference housing. Word went around to expect a raid. The Spice Factory, the larger of the two sites, was being evacuated and only about twenty people remained at the Ballroom, which had been cleaned out for an unrelated event the following evening.

A woman sitting in back of the Ballroom saw eight cops coming up the railroad tracks and yelled, "The cops are coming!" One then kicked her in the leg while she was trying to sit up. When she asked, "What are you doing?", the cop responded by



(above) Festival of the Oppressed weaves down a Chicago street. —photo/David Furer; (above rt.) Talking to the pigs. —photo/Susan Simensky Bietla

others inside. When told that Kristian needed medical attention, a cop dragged him out of the van by his hair, kicking his injured foot as he was thrown into the police wagon.

Although Kristian was beginning to black out, they were driven around for an hour. At the police station, Kristian, still blacking out and denied medical attention, was interrogated by nine cops. The van and cask were impounded and trashed, film destroyed, and papers and an address book stolen.

Meanwhile, we formed a protective line to prevent the cops from grabbing any one else. When we turned onto North Avenue, the cops rushed a bicyclist, knocking over other people on the sidewalk. A woman who intervened to protect the man in cus-

pepper spraying her at point blank range.

People repeatedly requested a search warrant, and asked for the badge numbers of the police who had removed them from their shirts and hats, but to no avail.

Once inside, police searched the building and went through personal belongings. They took a walkie talkie and file from an organizer's bag including phone lists. As they left, they repeatedly pepper gassed a man at close range, who had followed them from the building. Two people were later hospitalized from the gas. When a reporter asked police about the incident, they denied the raid ever happened and suggested it was invented by AR. After the Spice Factory was evacuated, it was searched and ransacked, presumably by police.

last two people, Kristian and Guin, were released.

The final three days of AR, Friday to Sunday, were severely disrupted by the raid, the arrests, evacuating the Spice Factory and Ballroom and relocating people to a backup space. Although a general weariness prevailed, there was a wrap-up session on Saturday, and the next day, one hundred people met for a final evaluation/next steps session.

Since August, people in several cities have held follow-up meetings and regional gatherings are being discussed. A booklet of discussions, reports and reflections about AR is being put together and will be sent out to participants. As of this writing (October 13), charges were dropped on all of those arrested at the Festival of the Oppressed.

Contrasted with past continental anarchist gatherings—Toronto in 1988 and San Francisco, the following year—our movement has become much more serious, experienced, relevant, clearheaded and widespread. AR planted the seeds and showed us our potential, but only energetic, effective organizing and careful community building where we live will nurture these seeds into thriving communities and a blossoming mass movement.

Contact the Autonomous Zone for legal updates or to send money to help with travel/legal expenses. 312.252-0775 (ext.2 for legal info), 1573 N. Milwaukee #420, Chicago, IL 60622.



100th anniversary of the automobile Kill the Car—No More Roads!

When eager crowds pushed through the turnstiles of the Detroit's North American International Auto Show last Winter, they had the look of fans at a championship game or dreamy-eyed kids thinking of presents under the Christmas tree. Although all of them must have been aware, at some level of consciousness, of the carnage, property damage, and pollution these icons of fantasy and desire create, they were there to ooh and aah the futuristic concept cars and the latest models.

1996 is the centenary of Henry Ford's first automobile, and Detroit, the so-called Motor City (even though only one percent of auto production currently occurs here), has seen a spate of official celebrations sponsored by car companies and the auto union. Michigan even issued special commemorative license plates.

Smash Out The Wall

The story has it that on June 4, 1896, young Hank discovered that his first car was too big to make it through the doors of the workshop where he had built it. Taking up a sledgehammer, he smashed out the wall around the door to provide an opening large enough for the vehicle. Since that time, the automobile has been doing more or less the same thing to the planet's ecosphere.

The car very rapidly became the central artifact of the individualistic subjectivity of modern industrial capitalist civilization. When they purchase a car, people aren't simply obtaining needed transportation, but pseudo-identity, and the illusion of freedom. Too bad if this fetish brings about unprecedented catastrophe for the life web of the planet—forests, waters, soils, the atmosphere—and for the half a million people currently killed globally every year in motor vehicle accidents, one third of them children. Motorized vehicles have also revolutionized war, making possible far greater panoplies of mass destruction.

As Jan Lundberg, editor of *Auto-Free Times* (magazine of the Alliance for a Paving Moratorium), notes, "We live in an autocracy. Future generations, the biggest victims, will be incredulous over our Dark Age. But both Clinton and Dole, as well as your

friendly corporate news media, promise more jobs through cars—and cars through jobs."

According to Lundberg, "The so-called love affair with the car may be real for the would-be cowboy or phallic-driving greedball, but really it's a case of lack of choice. Just look at the polls of motorists indicating they want more public transit. Or consider the criminal conspiracy that General Motors hatched with two oil companies, a tire and truck company to destroy 85 American cities' rail trolley systems earlier this century so we could get buses, pavement and freeways instead." One can, of course, "choose" not to own a car in many cities, as Lundberg, who lives in pedestrian-friendly Arcata, California, has done. But in a lot of places, for example, Detroit, there is no real choice. Like landless peasants eating the seeds for next year's crop, people have been driven to drive to survive, and driving, undermines their longterm survival.

The Modern Driver a Drudge

Not only is the modern driver little more than a variety of drudge engaged in mindless (mostly unpaid) labor ("Drive to work, work to drive," goes the saying), petroleum is the requisite, foundational resource fuel for industrial capitalism. Lundberg believes oil will run out in the near future, but we are not convinced. Corporations continue to announce the discovery of potential vast reserves in unlikely places all over the planet (Greenland, Southeast Asia, etc.). The fact is that some definitive, fossil fuel-generated ecocide will likely come long before the wells run dry.

We and the *Auto-Free Times* do agree that little or nothing is being done about the rapidly approaching cataclysm, either because of the inevitable consequences of an ongoing production-consumption economy, or because of the logical consequences of a possible depletion-collapse. Instead, even after the horrors of the Persian Gulf War, denial remains the name of the game, with some thirty million new cars produced each year looking for buyers. And nothing, not even the last remnants of relatively pristine wilderness, be they Ecuadorian rainforest or

Detroit Seen

FE Celebrates 30 Years

The FE staff and friends celebrated our 30th anniversary at the Cass Café in April, not only bringing in people from as far away as California, Maryland and Philadelphia, but even a picket by two very entertaining old-fashioned, stillborn-again Jesus freaks who drew even more irreverent Cass Corridor types into our vortex of sin. Favorite FE covers and FE memorabilia were displayed, including a judge's gavel that some enterprising '60s staff member stole from a courtroom and turned into a hash pipe. People danced to the music of Detroit's Ghost Band, and enough money was raised to keep this ship afloat. Thanks to Chuck Roy and the Cass Café staff, to the Ghost Band, to David Furer for the music mix, to Julie Herrada, and to unnamed others for their help in making it a success.

A great number of people also responded generously by mail after reading our appeal for funds in the last issue. This brought us back from brink of insolvency. Many thanks.

The following anecdote is found in Hans Peter

Duerr's book *Dreamtime*: "When a young comrade once asked an old Spanish anarchist whether he would not agree that the ideals of anarchism were beautiful but unrealizable, the latter answered, 'Of course it is impossible to realize them. But don't you see that everything that is possible today, is worthless?'"

Similarly, demanding the impossible has been at the core of the *Fifth Estate* project since it became explicitly antiauthoritarian in 1975. In a sense, there was as much continuity as change in that transition; from the beginning, as a starry-eyed liberal underground paper, the FE questioned authority and conformist assumptions, consciously working to establish a new social practice rooted in an authentic ethical relationship with the world. That basic desire remains the same as it was when the FBI once reported, the FE "supports the cause of revolution everywhere."

Our definition of revolution has evolved with the years, from new left through ultra-left to post-left, to a perspective difficult to sum up in a few words. But the commitment to social transformation, ecological regeneration, and the possibility for redeemed human community and solidarity remain intact. Our ideas have become more complex, and in some cases our certainties and uncertainties have exchanged positions, but our radical will has deepened.

Thanks to all the following (all pseudonyms except for one actual name—guess, it and win a prize): Panda Bear, Polar Bear, A. Shady Character, Rob Rifles, Ruby Lips, Ana Coluthon, Lynne Clive, George Bradford, Mr. Venom, Miguel Xolotl, Buster Brown, Revca, Algirdas Ratnikas, Rob Regular, Paul E. Morris, Mary Wildwood, Alice Detroit, E.B. Maple, W.B. Jeffries, Dogbane Campion, Ratticus, Coquilles St. Jacques, Karen Elliot, Tal Fulano, Primitivo Solis, Max Cafard, Bert Wirkes-Butuar, Beth Frage, Larry Talbot, Sonny Tufts, Dora Kaplan, Sarah Loosestrife, Lewis Cannon.

Also, to associated projects, collaborators and friends in Detroit: the Eat the Rich Gang, the Workers Revenge Party, Black & Red, the Detroit Print Coop, *Flt-Back: A Journal of Cheap Shots, Modern Citizen, The*



No, these aren't Bookchinists picketing the FE 30th anniversary party to protest our "life-style anarchism," but a couple of freelance christian nuts who showed up on their own. Some revelers thought we had hired them for the occasion. —composite photo: Julie Herrada & David Furer

Continued on page 31

Continued on page 30

The Unabomber

& the Future of Industrial Society



by T. Fulano

"... If one has courage and daring without benevolence, one is like a madman wielding a sharp sword; if one is smart and swift without wisdom, one is as though riding on a fast mount but not knowing which way to go.

"Every if one has talent and ability, if one uses them improperly and handles them inappropriately, they can only assist falsehood and dress up error. In that case it is better to have few technical skills than many.

"So, the ambitious should not be lent convenient power; the foolish should not be given sharp instruments."

—Lao-tai adapt, 2nd century B.C.E.¹

"We aren't the first to mention that the world today seems to be going crazy..."

—Industrial Society and Its Future (the "Unabomber manifesto")²

I: Go, Unabomber

Is the taoist master's advice more relevant to a serial bomber or to the society that engendered him? Now that the Unabomber's fifteen minutes of fame may be nearly ended, perhaps we can begin to discern his ambiguous significance to the megatechnic system he wants to overthrow.³

Clearly, the Unabomber struck a chord in the culture, rapidly becoming a perverse folk hero. If most considered his means mad, some of his stated motives received a good measure of sympathy. This must have been particularly true among people physically damaged by industrial processes, or who have seen their livelihoods erased by automation, or been coerced into progressively constricted and surveilled routines by computerization, or witnessed some beloved place bulldozed in the name of progress, or simply felt the crushing burden of a world of machines, noise and dreary offices.

Suppressing a natural compassion for his victims—in the larger scheme of things, most of them little more than bystanders—some people secretly rooted for the Unabomber. Perhaps they did so hoping he would improve his aim while sharpening his arguments (though few people actually read more than excerpts in the print media, and those who did, ironically, probably got the document off the Internet). In fact, his aim was decidedly

scattershot, if he intended to strike effectively and clearly at major policy-makers within the megamachine. But in post-modern, pop culture North America, the Unabomber seemed to be all we technophobes had; he stood in for a mass movement that few of his secret admirers even noticed was lacking. He was, instead, a slice of mediatized saturnalia, a murky Robin Hood who put a scare into the normally smug "techno-nerds" while thumbing his nose at the police.

While humor can often be subversive, there was also an unmistakable element of cynicism (and thus resignation) in the comedic response to the Unabomber. Not only is life cheap (as soon as an airplane crashes the jokes start), when the media picks up a message, the meaning implodes. In the Unabomber's case, his own argument—an astute one, though hardly new, that revolutionary action has unforeseeable consequences—took an ironic turn: his image was emblazoned on bumperstickers (as in, "Don't Blame Me, I Voted for the Unabomber"), and sweatshirts (one marketed in California showed the famous suspect sketch with the words, "There's a package for you..."), and became the raw material for tv and radio comedy.

The Unabomber even became an attraction on the Internet. Several webpages were devoted to him, including an area of multimedia giant Time Warner's Pathfinder site containing a game called "Find the Unabomber," which asked visitors, "Is there a little of the Unabomber in all of us?" Metroactive, a site formed by three Northern California newswEEKlies, commented on the FBI suspect sketch, offering an updated, more fashionable sketch with the explanation, "This anarcho-terrorist is looking dynamite in wraparound sunglasses, \$140 by Giorgio Armani; black pin-striped suit, \$1,550; white corduroy shirt, \$395; and black silk tie, \$125, by

Hugo Boss. Styled by André." A student involved in Internet discussions of the Unabomber commented, "People aren't really fans, they're just impressed."⁴

Another typical occurrence was the "Name the Unabomber" phenomenon. I suffered this common experience of being chided by co-workers for being the Unabomber because of my openly ludite attitudes. I'll probably never know if anyone seriously considered me a suspect, but it's sobering to know that at least 20,000 tips were received by the FBI Unabomber Task Force hotline before Kaczynski was arrested. If enough technophobia was in the air to elicit at least a muted, comic sympathy for the Unabomber, a widespread atmosphere of mutual suspicion and identification with the nation's secret police reflected quite a different aspect of the populace's character.

2: Enter Ted Kaczynski

Through Ted Kaczynski's countenance, the media inundated the public with images of the "twisted genius," disheveled and dirty, eyes unfocused, an inaccessible and furious enigma. But it behooves us to contrast that image with another gracing the magazine and book racks—clear-eyed, stolid, spit-and-polish, a presence both comforting and commanding to the citizens. A retired military leader and former head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, this person is widely admired and thought to be an appropriate alternative to the national political morass.

Whereas the brilliant "misfit" Theodore Kaczynski, if he is the Unabomber, only managed over a period of several years to kill three and injure 23 people, Colin Powell, hardly brilliant but undeniably competent and well-adjusted, oversaw in just a few weeks the deaths and injuries of perhaps several hundred thousand Iraqi

soldiers and civilians. And Powell's war—against the technological and social infrastructure of the enemy nation—continues to prove effective, consigning its victims to death by malnutrition and disease.⁵

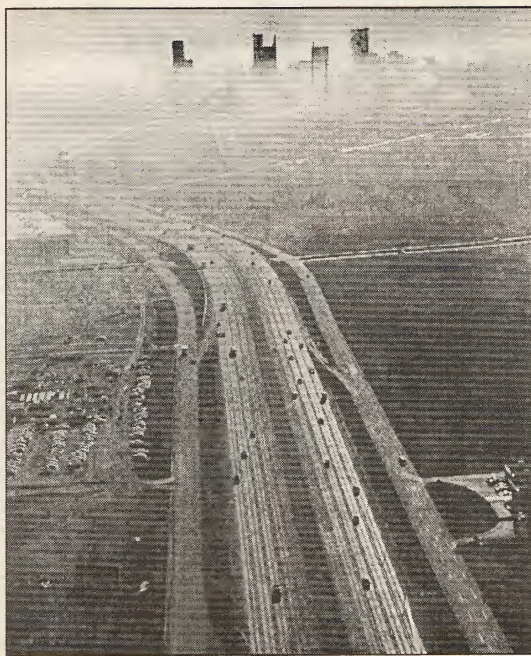
While Kaczynski was reviled in the press and thrown into a cell (and may ultimately be executed by the state), Powell's deadly project is praised as the reasonable actions of enlightened, civilized polity. For his illustrious career in the service of death and destruction, Powell has been rewarded with parades, medals, a handsome pension, book tours and offers to run for public office.

The question "Who is sane? Who is mad?" immediately presents itself to anyone who doesn't take for granted the dystopian nightmares cooked up daily in industrial capitalism's laboratories, think tanks and board rooms. Compared to Bush, Schwarzkopf and Powell, with their arsenal of "dumb" and "smart" bombs, the Unabomber's damage was pitifully small.⁶ Compare, as well, the "irrationality" of the lone bomber and the "rationality" of the presumably respected mathematician Claude Shannon, cited in the Unabomber manifesto: "I visualize a time when we will be to robots what dogs are to humans, and I'm rooting for the machines." Such celebrations of humanity's reduction to "servoprotein" and nature to laboratory dross are a familiar enough banality; that this banality reflects the potential extinction of human beings as an integral organism, and the actual, unprecedented physical extirpation of much that is recognizable in the natural world in which humanity evolved, might seem grounds enough to take desperate measures.

But while apt, the "who is sane" idea remains inadequate. Even perceptive technocrats have noticed the radical ambivalence of the Unabomber. Venture capitalist and cyber-maven Esther Dyson commented, for example, that she is "fascinated by the Unabomber... No. 1, he's a maniac. No. 2, he's asking valid questions..."⁷ Indeed, elaborate evidence should be unnecessary to demonstrate that someone who has spent almost two decades sending fastidiously crafted bombs through the mail is one variety of maniac. The text, too, which took the counter-culture concept of "self-publishing" to unprecedented extremes, is a curious admix-

The Unabomber is a sign that neither business-as-usual nor absolute intransigence, neither this society's coherence nor any variety of its incoherence, will have predictable results on a vortex that absorbs and neutralizes every opposition.

Continued on page 6



"I do not believe that ever since the world was created there has been witnessed such lamentation and wailing of people, accompanied by so great terror . . . for us wretched mortals there avails not any flight, since this monster when advancing slowly farexceeds the speed of the swiftest course. I know not what to say or do, for everywhere I seem to find myself swimming with bent head within the mighty throat and remaining indistinguishable in death, buried within the huge belly."
—Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519)

"The individual who lives in the technical milieu knows very well that there is nothing spiritual anywhere. But man cannot live without the sacred. He therefore transfers his sense of the sacred to the very thing which has destroyed its former object: to technique itself."—Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Society* (1964)

"When an ideology conveys such universal meanings and commands such obedience, it has become, in fact, a religion . . . [E]ngaged by a conscious mission—that of spreading the empire by machine—the demands of mechanical progress had the effect of a divine ordinance, sacreligious to challenge, impossible to disobey."—Lewis Mumford, *The Pentagon of Power* (1970)

"Technology has gotten the human race into a fix from which there is not likely to be an easy escape . . . Whatever else may be the case, it is certain that technology is creating a new physical and social environment radically different from the spectrum of environments to which natural selection has adapted the human race physically and psychologically. If man is not adjusted to this new environment by being artificially re-engineered, then he will be adapted to it through a long and painful process of natural selection . . . It would be better to dump the whole stinking system and take the consequences."—FC (1995)

Unabomber

Continued from page 5

ture of insight, ponderous scholasticism and delusion. Its description of the abundant maladies resulting from humanity's inability to adapt to the modern artificial environment—among them depression, anxiety, suicide, and "pathological, even murderous alienation . . . [a] hallmark of our time." Robert Wright observes—brings to mind the Unabomber himself. As Wright comments, "The Unabomber is Exhibit A in his own argument."⁸

There may indeed be a little of the Unabomber in us all, as numerous mass market publications have so cleverly noted. But judging from the pattern of bombings and the text, it's also apparent that the bomber shared not only his understandable luddite frustrations with modern society but that inchoate rage pervasive in today's mass psychology, expressed in every possible response from passive withdrawal to shooting up schoolyards. Despite the fatuous idea voiced in one anarchist flyer lauding the Unabomber, that "it's just a matter of listening to yer own rage," most people understand that such rage frequently turns out to be a large part of the problem.⁹

There are countless men exhibiting a combination of smoldering rage and technical dexterity nowadays; they have generally been more likely to blow up their co-workers with the boss—or their ex-wives. Generally blind to ambivalence and nuance, rage by itself can engender a Unabomber, perhaps, but rarely an authentic revolutionary, who—if I may, at the risk of seeming ridiculous, quote one of my boyhood heroes—is "guided by great feelings of love." Leaving aside his rightful sense of urgency, the Unabomber's terrorist enterprise was less a reasoned response to a world gone mad than simply one more of the myriad dangers we who live in mass society must negotiate daily—hostages not only to the murder, mayhem and dysfunction issuing from the powerful institutions that rule this pathological civilization, but also to the acts of revenge and grievance carried out by its anonymous, disaffected victims.

The Unabomber does, in fact, have his enthusiasts—including a not entirely tongue-in-cheek "fan club" on the West Coast (though in post-modern radicalism, irony and gravity inevitably commingle). Green Anarchists in England (not much irony there), and an anonymous flyer showing a color reproduction of Kaczynski with the cut-out, ransom-letter style legend, "Be like Ted." In Berkeley, California, a punkish anarchist told a *San Francisco Chronicle* writer, "We all think he's pretty great . . . I totally know where the guy's coming from. Everybody's just kind of laughing. They're hoping he blows something up in Berkeley so they can see it. I wish they'd start selling T-shirts that said, 'I ♥ the Unabomber,' because that would be kind of funny."¹⁰

In a *New York Times* interview depicting him as a "prominent anarchist" and "guru of sorts for anti-technology leftists," John Zerzan judged the FC text to be a "pretty thoroughgoing critique." In the flyer cited above, he extols the Unabomber's "profoundly radical vision" of "a return to 'wild nature' via the 'complete and permanent destruction of modern industrial society,'" and in another he praises the Unabomber's "critique, in acts as well as words." "I see in the eyes of Ted Kaczynski a sorrow reflecting what we have lost," Zerzan writes. "But the Megamachine has not eradicated all resistance . . . And at the very least we have seen the

courage and honor of one who would not buy into this fraudulent society, who fought the Brave New World with pen and sword." But the eyes of another sometimes reveal to us what we are most predisposed to find. Reading Zerzan, one almost forgets how obscure most of the Unabomber's victims were.¹¹

True, Zerzan did not wholeheartedly endorse either the method or the manifesto. He argued that more than industrialism would have to be eliminated to achieve freedom, and judged mail bombs "too random," their potential "collateral harm [a military term that came into use during the Persian Gulf War] not justifiable."¹² According to Zerzan, Kaczynski's "betrayal . . . at the hands of his brother reminds us that pacifism, in its smug cowardice, is always, at base, the defender of what is." But life is more complex than the pithy utterances on flyers. There is more than one kind of cowardice, just as there is more than one variety of courage and honor. If we can approve of some of the Unabomber's motives without supporting all his means, it seems fair to grant the same consideration to David Kaczynski, who simply acted on the belief that "collateral harm is not justifiable."¹³

David Kaczynski, who likely knows him better than anyone, came to believe that his older brother was the Unabomber (and thus that he himself had, by giving his brother money, unknowingly subsidized some of the bombing campaign). Judging by what the younger Kaczynski had to say, if his brother was responsible, he was motivated by more than high principles and heroism. "The truth from my point of view," David told *The New York Times*, "is that Ted has been a disturbed person for a long time and he's gotten more disturbed."¹⁴

Actually, if his brother were responsible for the bombings, the desire to publish his manifesto and to stop killing people could have meant Ted was becoming less and not more disturbed. (Curiously, the plaint in one communiqué against the tedium of making and testing bombs suggests that even criminal intransigence in the name of revolution can become an oppressive routine.)¹⁵ That the Unabomber could examine his own actions and try to articulate a more coherent perspective on modern society's discontents offers some hope that others, seemingly incapable, may also be able to change.

3: Enter the Neo-Luddites

A form of "Name the Unabomber" inevitably occurred in the media, too. When he was shown the manifesto, Kevin Kelly, executive editor of the fashionable digerati magazine *Wired*, snorted, "If I didn't know better, I'd say he sounds a lot like Kirkpatrick Sale."¹⁶ Sale's book *Rebels Against the Future: The Luddites and Their War on the Industrial Revolution*, and his recent performances smashing computers (an instructive stunt which anarchists have practiced for several years), have earned Sale the media role of an official neo-luddite spokesman, in another serviceable media scenario of "techno-nerds vs. neo-luddites."¹⁷

For his part, Sale argued in the pages of *The Nation* that the newspapers should agree to the Unabomber's offer to stop killing people and publish the manifesto. Publishing it would likely prevent more deaths, and newspaper editors "needn't worry about the propaganda effect" of the text, he pointed out, "since it is a woodenly written term paper, full of academic jargon and pop psychology, repetitive and ill-argued, that will keep only the most dedicated readers awake beyond its open-

ing paragraphs."

"Which," Sale continued, "is a shame," since the Unabomber's main point, that industrialism has been a "disaster for the human race," is "absolutely crucial." The greatest flaws in the document, Sale averred, were its manipulative idea of political change, its lack of a genuine ecological perspective, and its failure to cite or trace its origins to "the long Luddistic strain in Western thought" or "the great modern critics of technology such as Lewis Mumford, Jacques Ellul," and others.¹⁸

Sale's exposition on the Unabomber text, while one of the better discussions I saw in the press, is alternately insightful and pedantic, his reading peevish and occasionally inaccurate. His criticism of the text's "appeal to nature [as] entirely utilitarian," and of the Unabomber's "faintest grasp of the principles of ecology," lacks nuance and attention to the text. For example, according to Sale, the Unabomber "gives only a passing glance to the multiple environmental disasters the system is producing for itself and never mentions the likelihood . . . that the complex industrial house of cards will not hold." In fact, after writing in paragraph 5 that his text does not go into the question of "environmental degradation or the destruction of wild nature, even though we consider these to be highly important," the Unabomber nevertheless returns to technologically-caused ecological catastrophes several times, and clearly argues the possibility that industrialism may collapse on its own. Sale seems mostly annoyed that the Unabomber doesn't properly acknowledge deep ecology ideas, but, if anything, the Unabomber's implied approval of "the idea that wild nature is more important than human economic welfare" places him close to deep ecology, if only to a misanthropic, catastrophist variety of it.¹⁹

According to Sale, the text's reference to "anarchist and radical environmental journals" reveals that the Unabomber knows "something about the current [technology] critics," and he adds parenthetically, "If I had to guess which has been most influential on him, I'd say the *Fifth Estate*, a feisty antitechnology paper published out of Detroit for the past thirty years . . ." To describe the Unabomber as somehow both "prescient" and an "incoherent" fanatic of mediocre intellect, and to censure his lack of identification with the "long Luddistic strain" in the Western tradition and his failure to quote from this tradition, and then to name the *Fifth Estate* (which is clearly in this tradition and which quotes extensively from it) as the Unabomber's most probable influence, seems a rather studied, if indirect, potshot. As a long-time FE reader, Sale had to know that neither the Unabomber's language nor his strategy resembled the FE's work, that at best we share with him what Sale shares with him—a sense of urgency about technological catastrophe and a jaundiced view of industrialism's false promises.

Sale added nothing to his discussion by mentioning the FE, just gratuitously tossed it in as an aside without the least substantiation. There is something utterly irresponsible, even contemptible, in offering such speculations, with the cops standing by, at a time when the FBI was harassing and investigating eco-radicals on the West Coast and obtaining subpoenas for the membership records of scholarly organizations such as the History of Science Society and the subscription lists of journals such as the left-wing *Critical Sociology*. (The manifesto was hand-delivered to him by FBI agents, most likely as part of their strategy to enlist journalists

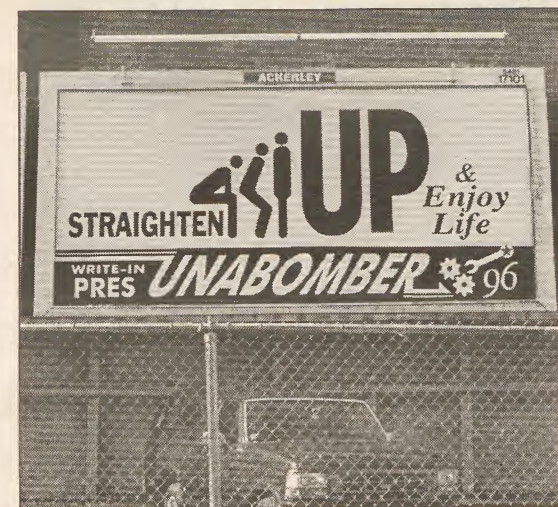
and academics to analyze the text for clues.)

Contrary to Sale's volunteer detective work, we found no evidence that the Unabomber was on our subscription list. Nor did anything like the Unabomber text turn up in our files of rejected manuscripts, though if it had, it was too long, too badly written and too confused for us to have accepted it. Sadly, if the Unabomber couldn't expect his text, despite its urgency, to be published in an anarchist antitech journal like the *Fifth Estate*, one can understand his sense of desperation. After all, the issues he raises—the destruction of wild nature, technological domination, genetic manipulation and ecological apocalypse—however confused their elaboration and whatever his shortcomings as a writer, are pressing. And if it takes a madman to tell us in his own mad way that our world is mad, then so be it. Truth be told, industrial capitalism is tattering the complex web of life to the point of global collapse, and legions of functionaries like the last two corporate bureaucrats the unabhoms killed are reaping lavish benefits for helping the process along. Unfortunately, apart from pinprick attacks on a few of capital's relatively lower-level minions—switchmen along the tracks to capital's ecosphere Buchenwald, we might say—and random violence against secretaries and others, the Unabomber ended by playing into the hands of the very forces of media and mass culture he opposed.

"To make an impression on society with words is . . . almost impossible for most individuals and small groups," he writes. "Take us (FC) for example. If we had never done anything violent and had submitted the present writings to a publisher, they probably would not have been accepted. If they had been accepted and published, they probably would not have attracted many readers, because it's more fun to watch the entertainment put out by the media than to read a sober essay. Even if these writings had had many readers, most of these readers would soon have forgotten what they had read as their minds were flooded by the mass of material to which the media expose them. In order to get our message before the public with some chance of making a lasting impression, we've had to kill people."

Not only does this statement sound strikingly like rationalization long after the fact for some wayward grudge killings, by its self-immolating logic, the propaganda of the deed is completely supplanted by the brute fact of the deed itself. According to the argument, only violence would have gotten the text published; without it the text would not have attracted readers. But even if it had found a large audience without the author having to resort to violence, its readers, overwhelmed by the flood of media-generated information, would have forgotten it anyway. Thus, the Unabomber believed, as technology critic Jacques Ellul has put it, "In a battle between propagandas, only propaganda can respond effectively." But it did not occur to him, as it did to Ellul, that "the effects of one's propaganda on the personality are exactly the same as those of enemy propaganda . . ."²⁰

Naively hoping to "make a lasting impression," even to destabilize industrialism, the Unabomber only managed to provide titillation (and further official pretext for harassment and surveillance of activists). His deadly "lasting impression" has faded with yesterday's newspapers, and his bombs—weapons which a century or so ago anarchist revolutionaries praised as "great equalizers" against authority—are now almost imperceptible in a landscape



We Are The Veal?

It's rare when supporters of a well-known candidate for political office prepare in advance for his anticipated loss. But even prior to the November election, Unapack, the group sponsoring the Unabomber presidential write-in campaign, planned to issue bumper stickers stating, "Don't Blame Me, I Voted For the Unabomber." Undeterred by expected defeat, Unapack distributed thousands of stickers, leaflets, a manifesto of their own, and even erected billboards urging write-in votes for their candidate. Their seemingly whimsical slogans, "Hey, C'mon . . . Dare to be perky!" and "We are the veal?" have a serious intent.

Unapack spokespeople say they have no illusions about the electoral process: "The campaign is a serious election effort to undermine the election process itself. . . Votes for the Unabomber can't be rationalized or mediated or explained away. They are an expression of rage, not apathy, of utter contempt for the brutality and indifference of our 'civilized' society."

"Four hundred years ago, our suburbs and office parks were wilderness, forest and plains, mountains and rivers, teeming with an unimaginable diversity of life. Industrial society crushed out that diversity, and replaced it with monoculture: mile after mile of corn fields, each plant a genetically perfect copy; identical houses and cars in endless rows, one size fits all, even people standardized and stacked on top of one another like cans of beer."

"What native society ever built factory farms, or robotic slaughterhouses? What makes us so different from our veal cows, force-fed and chained to their pens, unable to take a single step? Who were the real savages? A vote for the Unabomber is a vote for the chaos of freedom, a vote for Wild Nature: Dare to join the barbarians at the gates. Contact Unapack at POB 120494, Boston MA 02112."

FE Note: We maintain our anti-electoral position.

Whereas the brilliant "misfit" Theodore Kaczynski, if he is the Unabomber, only managed over a period of several years to kill three and injure 23 people, Colin Powell, hardly brilliant but undeniably competent and well-adjusted, oversaw in just a few weeks the deaths and injuries of perhaps several hundred thousand Iraqi soldiers and civilians.

where bombs of every magnitude and variety, in the service of every ideology and grievance, have become ubiquitous.²¹ (And bombings, of course, are only one manifestation of an endless array of modern disasters. It no longer matters whether an airplane crashes because of terrorism, corporate cost cutting or the inevitable systems-errors of complex technology. In the mass society we inhabit, the first two causes are categories of the last.)

4: 2, 3, Many Unabhomers?

We may never know if Ted Kaczynski is the Unabomber, but he clearly shares an enduring hatred for technology and love for nature with the author of the text. And though there is little evidence that high tech genocide in Vietnam directly influenced his decision to drop out (as some have suggested), there would only have been honor in his decision if it did.²² On January 20, 1969—the day of Richard Nixon's presidential inauguration—he

resigned from the University of California-Berkeley math department and, emulating Thoreau, left to live his life deliberately at society's margin.

At the time Kaczynski dropped out of the university, Lewis Mumford was finishing his landmark work, *The Pentagon of Power*, a book that could easily have been titled *Industrial Society and Its Future*. In that great, dark jeremiad, Mumford described two contrasting characterological types in megatechnic society. In one we find a Colin Powell: what Mumford called the "Automated, or Organization Man: he who takes all his orders from the system, and who, as a scientist, engineer, expert, administrator or, finally, consumer and subject, cannot conceive of any departure from the system, even in the interest of efficiency, still less for the sake of creating a more intelligent, vivid, purposeful, humanly rewarding life."

This automaton—perhaps a timber lob-

Continued on page 8

Unabomber

Continued from page 7

biyst or genetics researcher—this “limited, docile, scientifically conditioned human animal, completely adjusted to a purely technological environment,” was nevertheless “not born alone.” Rather, this personage has come with “a twin, a dark shadow-self: defiant, not docile: disorderly, not organized or controlled: above all, aggressively destructive, even homicidal, reasserting the dammed-up forces of life in crazy or criminal acts.” Though Mumford considered the aim of this “subversive” type to be the destruction of “higher attributes . . . whose gifts of love, mutuality, rationality, imagination, and constructive aptitude have enlarged all the possibilities of life,” he was not posing an argument for more control, more damming up, more technology, more adjustment and passivity. “It is in the light of [the megamachine’s] impending negations and destructions,” he emphasized, “that the whole concept of subjugating nature and replacing man’s own functions with collectively fabricated, automatically operated, completely depersonalized equivalents must at last be appraised.”²³

Mumford would certainly have been surprised to find the nihilist “shadow twin” carrying out “crazy, criminal acts” in an explicit, calculated war against the automaton “techno-nerds” (as the Unabomber characterized them). It is as if instead of hanging himself, the Savage of Huxley’s *Brave New World* had decided to start killing the Alphas and Betas. But the bomber is more a symptom of crisis than any model for response. Indeed, rather than the “glint of hope” Zerzan found in the Unabomber’s campaign and manifesto—that, “In distinction to the widespread feeling that everything outside the self is beyond our control, the monopoly of lies has been broken”—the

Unabomber’s pathetic one-man war both embodied and reinforced the bleak suspicion that the isolated self is all we have, undermining the contrasting sense that people working openly together may succeed in bringing about substantive change. (Oddly, the bombmaker’s lonely operations at his work table parallel the solitary hacker in a cubicle, sending a different variety of poisoned gift into the technocratic void—a virus, perhaps, to “promote social stress and instability in the industrial system,” as “FC” urged, or simply to engage in some monad’s notion of dangerous play.) In the end, the bombings mostly left the “monopoly of lies” intact—a monopoly, in any case, that a small but growing number of people are starting to see through without the help of bombs.

No doubt, given the willingness of well-adjusted, well-rewarded automatons to experiment secretly with nuclear materials on human beings for decades, and their recent success in roughly mapping the human gene code, among other accomplishments (and under the rubric of the highest humanitarian ideals, of course), one is tempted to welcome any response, even, if I may paraphrase my boyhood revolutionary hero, to invite “two, three, many Unabombers.” As Mumford might have put it, the Unabomber represents, in however distorted a form, the “dammed-up forces of life.” We should not be lulled into forgetting the real terrorist system, with its doomsday apparatus, its investment portfolios in mass extinction. As the anarchist revolutionary Voltairine de Cleyre wrote after a bomb incident in New York’s Union Square in 1908, “For truly, Anarchism has nothing in common with violence, and can

never come about save through the conquest of men’s minds. But when some desperate and life-denied victim of the present system does strike back at it, by violence, it is not our business to heap infamies upon his name, but to explain him as we explain others, whether our enemies or our friends, as the fated fruit of the existing ‘order.’”²⁴

It could be argued that there are no innocent “bystanders.” To one degree or another, the rest of “us” participate in the apparatus, earning our daily bread, our own short-term dividends from apocalyptic, as workers, functionaries, secretaries, and the like, all dependent on the industrial bribe.²⁵ But there is no revolutionary short-cut to social transformation, no simple lever to apply the brakes, no fast track to the future. As much as the Unabomber may believe that “active, determined minorities” are the sole makers of history, only majorities can ultimately bring about the social change needed to turn back from extermination. A frightening prospect, surely, given both how “functional” and “dysfunctional” people have been and are becoming in this society, but however different we might wish things to be, a campaign of destabilization to spark industrial collapse (which industrialism seems to be bringing about quite well on its own, thank you very much), will probably only succeed in driving the inmates of industrial society further into the protective embrace of the megatechnic state.

Active, determined minorities and individuals *can* make a difference and have done so, of course. After all, Thoreau was a relative loner and outsider, yet his influence eventually became immense. And to provide only one contemporary example, anyone who reads radical environmental journals, as the Unabomber recommends, can find evidence of active minorities and individuals who are making a large difference. As planetary life conditions inevitably deteriorate further under industrial

capitalism, more isolated acts of hope and despair like the Unabomber’s are to be expected. Nevertheless, we are not likely to find our way through the examples of either lone assassins or terrorist cells. Rather, we must look to communities of people working both within and against this society to transform it for pathways to a new mode of life. The transformation is in fact already occurring in many seemingly unrelated social movements and cooperative endeavors around the world. Whether they are creating alternative institutions, resisting domination, or defending their neighborhoods, people acting as the subjects of their history participate in a kind of Eternal Return, moving beyond history’s limits. Resisting and working together creatively, they fulfill the same necessary role whatever the context or the outcome, recreating and rearticulating not only their faith in the continuity of life *but life’s continuity itself*. That is what the luddites did in smashing machines and engaging in other insurgent activities, a far more powerful act both politically and existentially than smashing a computer on stage (however dramatic the gesture), or sending a bomb through the mail (whoever does it).

The Unabomber text is a tormented scream against an empire whose claims to human improvement cannot conceal deepening domination and the ruination of the natural world. While it contains worthwhile insights, its abstract, mechanistic sociologism informs a survivalist, individualistic notion of freedom and a utilitarian outlook that considers any undertaking other than the most meager grubbing of food, clothing and shelter (but also, tellingly, the pursuit of status or revenge) to be an alienated, “surrogate” activity. This Crusoe’s text, with its pioneer flavor and autarchic notion of autonomy, does not stray far from the classic bourgeois political economy whence it came. In some sense it is a protest against the idea of any

society. While it astutely sees through the rationalization and repression of modern civilization’s claim to universality, the text’s rejection of any human universality is an obscurantist idyll. Correspondingly, it rejects what it calls the “most basic values” of this society as “industrial values.” Among the values it rejects—the “official values of our society [because] they are useful to the industrial system,”—it names racial and sexual equality, helping the poor, “peace as opposed to war,” kindness to animals, and the idea that individuals have obligations to society and society to individuals. In fact, these represent a mix of modern and far more archaic values, some of them the very intuitions we most need in order to resist and overcome the forces of technological domination.²⁶

The Unabomber’s harsh, if naive, politics of catastrophism fails to recognize that the horrific future he predicts if industrialism doesn’t collapse dramatically, rapidly and soon, *is already upon us*. People of the future, he warns, “won’t be able to just turn the machines off, because they will be so dependent on them that turning them off would amount to suicide.” But people are already dependent; it is precisely this suicide that the Unabomber advocates. As for the potential negative consequences to human beings and even, one must surmise, to ecosystems, he shrugs, “Well, you can’t eat your cake and have it too . . .” And he proposes that revolutionaries do everything possible to bring about this collapse to avoid technology’s far more destructive triumph. There is something evocative in this of an International Monetary Fund consultant’s recommendation of economic “shock therapy” and starvation of some populations to improve their countries’ laggard economies over the long run. It is the logic of someone who, either because they are sitting in an air-conditioned high rise or hiding in a cave, is somehow not connected to life. A situationist once remarked that the bloodiest revolution would be far less painful than any weekend under capitalism, but the social-ecological disaster into which we are presently sliding, whether it be helped along by “determined minorities” or not, may prove far worse than we can imagine.

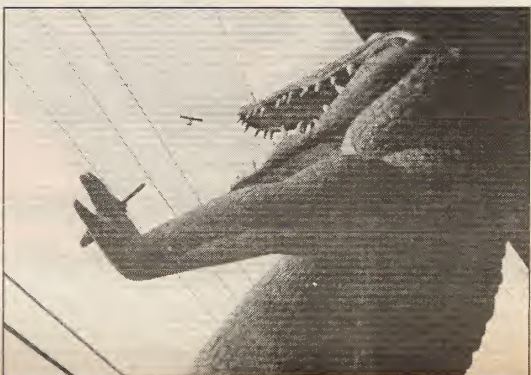
5: Things Fall Apart

Toward the end of his life, Mumford confided to Roderick Seidenberg, “I think, in view of all that has happened the last half century, that it is likely the ship will sink.” In another letter, to his friend Bruno Levi, he wrote, “I have not the heart to tell [people] . . . what I actually think about our human prospects unless something approaching a miracle takes place.”²⁷

But Mumford still left open the possibility of such a miracle. He believed that if there was to be a successful revolutionary transformation, it would begin at society’s margins in “gestures of non-conformity” and withdrawal. He defended “every act of rebellion, every exhibition of group defiance, every assertion of the will-to-live, every display of autonomy and self-direction, at however primitive a level,” as attempts to stay the leviathan, prevent a cataclysm that a life worth living might not survive. To Mumford it was the anarchist Thoreau, not Marx, who represented the genuine “arch-enemy” of this complex pentagon of power, for his emphasis on disobedience and a life lived deliberately at the margins of society.²⁸

But if Thoreau, writing during a time of this civilization’s youthful exuberance, was able to bequeath us some of our wisest and most vivid insights into it, the Unabomber, writing in an era of disillusion, resignation, rage and social decomposi-

If it takes a madman to tell us in his own mad way that our world is mad, then so be it. Truth be told, industrial capitalism is tattering the complex web of life to the point of global collapse, and legions of functionaries like the last two corporate bureaucrats the unabombs killed are reaping lavish benefits for helping the process along.



tion, could only produce a choleric, aridly rationalistic, nihilistic epistle and a scatter of explosions. We need neither condemn nor condone him; his text and his haphazard, deliberate campaign of terror are mostly ominous reflections of how thoroughly we are now pinioned in the gears.

It has not been my intention to reduce to objects of discourse, rather than confronting as subjects, the author of the Unabomber text, or the suspect Theodore Kaczynski, or outsiders known or unknown who might now be expressing our age's deepest truths, or anyone else. That what I know about the Unabomber has come from the media makes this tendency inevitable. In any case, whoever the Unabomber turns out to be, he deserves pardon on the basis of insanity—an insanity that is more collectively ours than his alone. For how can it be that men continue to make their fortunes by unraveling the very foundations of complex life, reducing millions of years of evolution to rubble? Are they not the ambitious, exercising their convenient power, and the arrogant fools with their sharp instruments, as the wise one in this essay's epigraph described them—are they not also the prosecutors and police, the judges and good citizens who may condemn to death the one they take to be this bitter doomsayer, this avenging angel?

And so this is also a plea for Ted Kaczynski, now set to take the rap. It is a plea for the Unabomber, whoever he may be. I do not know what should be done to such people or for them, only that this society, with its faceless machinery of murder, should not be allowed to carry out its sanguinuous determination to take his life as punishment for taking life, while continuing its far more grisly business. Surely this society faces far more imperative matters. If there is poignancy in the Unabomber's final note that his arguments are likely imprecise and even "flatly false," only "a crude approximation of the truth," his ominous and ambiguous significance recommends similar humility on our part. Perhaps we can expect no miracles, only catastrophe after all. But we focus on this small parcel of armageddon at our tragic peril.

The Unabomber phenomenon, a comet briefly throwing its harsh, weird light across deepening shadows, is a sign that neither business-as-usual nor absolute intransigence, neither this society's coherence nor any variety of its incoherence, will have predictable results on a vortex that absorbs and neutralizes every opposition. Yet in his fury, isolation and ultimate failure he also reminds us that it is, paradoxically, only those everyday acts—of mutual aid, trust, empathy, and attentiveness to life through which we nurture what is worthwhile in this society or any other—that hold the transformative energies we need to carry us through this storm.

If things do fall apart, they won't need puny bombs and manifestos. Industrialism cannot continue without smashing on reality's rocks. Ultimately, if we love

If things do fall apart, they won't need puny bombs and manifestos. Industrialism cannot continue without smashing on reality's rocks.

We need neither condemn nor condone the Unabomber; his text and campaign of terror are mostly ominous reflections of how thoroughly we are now pinioned in the gears.

the living earth, our hope lies beyond even the prospects of our species' survival. Life itself is more intelligent than either the megamachine or its enemies, and will survive and thrive with or without us. Yet when all is said and done, most of us fight for what we cherish of the world we know. Connected to people and place, we have our feet planted in this world, even if our dreams open thresholds to another. Unlike the Unabomber, who argues that the destruction of technology "must be... the single, overriding goal," we have many complex, interrelated aims that cannot be resolved by this mechanistic, monomaniacal determination alone. We do battle, as the Taoist sage recommends, "not... to destroy what exists but to preserve what is perishing."²⁹ That will mean carefully backing our way out of the labyrinth we have helped construct, like the hero following his lover's thread to sunlight.

ENDNOTES

¹ Quoted in *The Tao of Politics: Lessons of the Masters of Huainan*, translated and edited by Thomas Cleary (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1990), pp. 60-1.

² Printed in a special section of the September 19, 1995 *Washington Post*, under the signature "FC."

³ This essay does not presume that Theodore Kaczynski is the Unabomber. Though I may be a reasonable premise, given what we can know about the case, Kaczynski faces the possibility of being executed if convicted, based on evidence gathered by the FBI—an agency known to be one of the biggest lie machines in memory. He is a fascinating figure, from what we know of him; but given the charges and the possible repercussions, simple decency compels us to let the bombings, the manifesto and society's response speak as much as possible for themselves.

⁴ "On the Internet, the Unabomber is a Star," *The New York Times*, April 6, 1996. Most likely Tim Warner shared its information with the FBI, using its site to draw "potential terrorists" and sympathizers into the police "web." The website could have been created in part with that goal in mind.

⁵ According to United Nations reports, more than a half million children have died in Iraq since the end of the Persian Gulf War as a result of continuing sanctions.

⁶ In some ways the Unabomber is reminiscent of Norman Mayer, who was killed in December, 1982 by a police SWAT team in Washington, D.C. after occupying the Washington Monument and threatening to blow it up if the nuclear superpowers did not move toward rapid disarmament. Mayer, who protested the deadliest arsenal in history, only threatened property, but he was killed anyway (it turned out he had no bomb). See George Bradford, "Who Is Sane? Who Is Mad?" Norman Mayer and the Missile X," in the Winter 1982-83 *Fifth Estate* (available from FE Books for \$2).

⁷ *The New York Times Magazine*, July 7, 1996.

⁸ Robert Wright, "The Evolution of Despair," *Time*, August 28 1995. Of course, we should not forget that the definition of sanity and insanity is a complex question of power, representation and consent. Modern civilization's medicalization and sordid treatment of psychic

difference is one more measure of our alienation. Many expressions of what we now tend to consider madness should have a place, as there seems to be in some cultures, to play a legitimate role in the spectrum of human expression and experience.

⁹ See John Zerzan, "Whose Unabomber?," from AAA, PO Box 11331, Eugene OR 97440.

¹⁰ "Are You the Unabomber? Or You? Or You?" *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 31, 1995.

¹¹ This flyer is probably also available from AAA, PO Box 11331, Eugene OR 97440. See also "Prominent Anarchist Finds Unsought Ally in Serial Bomber," *The New York Times*, 5/11/96. While no one at the *Fifth Estate* was willing to speak to the media, that doesn't automatically invalidate Zerzan's decision to speak to the *Times* and several radio stations—despite his well-known explicit rejection of all compromise and his notion of "the drastic as the minimum response toward health." (*Future Primitive and Other Essays* (New York and Columbia: Autonomedia/Anarchy, 1994), p. 137) In an open letter distributed to anarchists, he answered those who criticized him for speaking to the press by questioning "deliberate self-marginalization [that tries] to put forth ideas to change an insane world while at the same time disavowing all contact with that world." He adds, "Is it manipulative to want to break out of our tiny ghetto and connect with universally suffering human beings?" (The letter is probably available from the above PO Box.) Actually, in the interview with the *Times*, Zerzan comes off as honest, thoughtful and unpretentious. His reasoning for speaking to the media suggests that however complex and ambiguous the problem of addressing others through mass society's means, the spectacle is never absolutely hegemonic, and, given how terrible the times are, it might make sense to try. That our situation is dire does not automatically tell us which desperate measures might therefore be appropriate. Apparently, even intransigence may sometimes require compromise. The relationship between principles and strategies is not clear cut.

¹² Zerzan criticizes the Unabomber text for its excessive emphasis on industrialism; actually, he argues, *agriculture* is a deeper, far more serious impediment to freedom. Will someone now start bombing soybean farmers? No more tolu?

¹³ According to his interview in the April 26, 1996 *Times*, he tried to communicate with his brother when he began to develop suspicions, but was rebuffed.

¹⁴ See the extensive coverage in the May 26, 1996 *Times*.

¹⁵ The letter was printed in *The New York Times*, April 26, 1995.

¹⁶ See the particularly smug and stupid article by Bob Ickes, "Die, Computer, Die!" in the July 24, 1995 issue of *New York*. For an insane argument between Sale and Kelly, packaged in Kelly's favor, of course, see "Return of the Luddites," in the June 1995 *Wired*.

¹⁷ *Rebels Against the Future* (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995) provides a vivid account of the Luddite revolt, and a sloppy, theoretically deficient discussion of the history of technological discourse and the recent emergence of revolt against mass technologies.

¹⁸ Kirkpatrick Sale, "Unabomber's Secret Treason: Is There Method in His Madness?" (*The Nation*, September 25, 1995).

¹⁹ A certain primitivist catastrophism can be found among some deep ecologists, anarchists

and others, expressed for example by Christopher Manes' idea, in his *Green Rage: Radical Environmentalism and the Unmaking of Civilization* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1990), that "the time to make the choice between the natural and cultural world has come" (p. 248), whatever that conundrum is supposed to mean. For a discussion and critique of ecological catastrophism, see George Bradford, "Return of the Son of Deep Ecology," and related essays, in the Spring 1989 *Fifth Estate*.

²⁰ Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (1962, 1965; New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 137.

²¹ *The New York Times* reports that the country is currently witnessing "a proliferation of a sort of garden variety bomber," leading to arrests of mostly white suburbanites, for example, in Georgia, Arizona and Washington State. Bombings and attempted bombings increased by more than 50 percent in the last five years, and have nearly tripled over the last decade. "The number of criminal explosions and attempts went from 1,103 in 1985 to 3,163 in 1994," according to the article. See "Terrorism Now Going Homespun As Bombings in the U.S. Spread," August 25, 1996.

²² See "The Unabomber Case Is Linked to Antiwar Turmoil on U.S. Campuses in 1960s," in the June 1, 1996 *New York Times*.

²³ Lewis Mumford, *The Pentagon of Power: The Myth of the Machine Volume II* (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), pp. 192-3, 284.

²⁴ Quoted in *An American Anarchist: The Life of Voltaire de Cleyre*, by Paul Avrich (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 140.

²⁵ What, indeed, is sanity and what is insanity at this late day? In his post-apocalyptic satire *Galapagos* (1985), Kurt Vonnegut writes of the late twentieth century that "human brains back then had such copious and irresponsible generators of suggestions as to what might be done with life, that they made acting for the benefit of future generations seem one of many arbitrary games which might be played by narrow enthusiasts—like poker or polo or the bond market, or the writing of science-fiction novels."

More and more people back then... had found ensuring the survival of the human race a total bore.

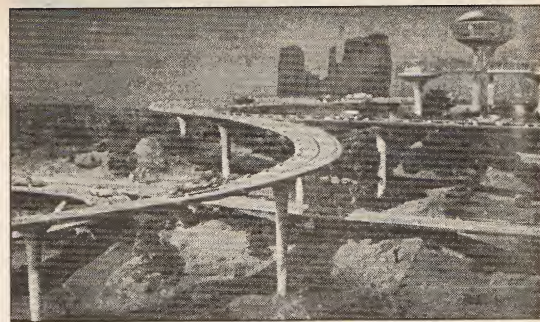
"It was a lot more fun, so to speak, to hit and hit a tennis ball."

²⁶ The text's tedious, simplistically psychologistic critique of "leftism"—by which is meant any reform or humanitarian impulse, or notion of universalism, or altruistic act of solidarity with the suffering or oppression of those other than oneself or one's closest cohort—is an example of the dubious monadic individualism of the Unabomber. Leftism, he warns, with its identification with victims, its "moralistic tone," its willingness to work in the interests of others, and its tendency to oppose violence and competition, is "inconsistent with wild nature," which must therefore be competitive, violent, selfish and without moral significance. Strangely, the terrorist cell "FC" that the text identifies as its authors evokes the worst kind of clandestine, authoritarian, leftist group.

²⁷ Quoted in Lewis Mumford: *A Life*, by Donald Miller (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), pp. 541, 422.

²⁸ Mumford, *The Pentagon of Power*, pp. 433, 377, 330.

²⁹ *The Tao of Politics*, ibid., p. 50.



Our Fallen Anarchist Comrades

Albert Meltzer

Born London, Jan. 7, 1920; died, Weston-Super-Mare, N. Somerset, May 7, 1996.

Albert Meltzer was one of the most enduring and respected torchbearers of the international anarchist movement in the second half of the twentieth century. His sixty-year commitment to the vision and practice of anarchism survived both the collapse of the revolution and civil war in Spain and World War II. He helped fuel the libertarian impetus of the 1960s and 1970s and steer it through the reactionary challenges of the Thatcherite 1980s and post-Cold War 1990s.

Fortunately, before he died, Albert managed to finish his autobiography, *I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels* (AK Press), a pungent, no-punches-pulled, Schvejkian account of a radical enemy of humbug and injustice.

A life-long trade union activist, he fought Mosley's fascist Blackshirts in the battle of Cable Street, played an active role in supporting the anarchist communes and militias in the Spanish Revolution and the pre-war German anti-Nazi resistance, was a key player in the Cairo Mutiny during World War II, and helped rebuild the post-war, anti-Franco resistance in Spain and the international anarchist movement.

His other achievements include the founding of the Anarchist Black Cross, a prisoners' aid and ginger group and the paper which grew out of it—*Black Flag*. However, Albert's most enduring legacy is the Kate Sharpley Library, probably the

Illustration: Clifford Harper

most comprehensive anarchist archive in Britain.

Born in 1920 in the London of Orwell's *Down and Out*, Albert was soon enrolled into political life as a private in the awkward squad. His decision to go down the road of revolutionary politics came, he claimed, in 1935 at the age of 15 as a direct result of taking boxing lessons. Boxing was considered a "common" sport, frowned upon by the governors of his Edmonton school and the prospective Labour MP for the area, the virulently anti-boxing Dr. Edith Summerskill.

Perhaps it was the boxer's legs and footwork he acquired as a youth which gave him his lifelong ability to bear his considerable bulk. It certainly induced a lifetime's habit of shrewd assessment of his own and his opponents' respective strengths and weaknesses.

The streetwise, pugilistic but bookish schoolboy attended his first anarchist meeting in 1935 where he drew attention to himself by contradicting the speaker, Emma Goldman, with his defense of box-

ing. He soon made friends with the aging anarchist militants of a previous generation and became a regular and dynamic participant in public meetings.

The 1936 anarchist-led resistance to the fascist uprising in Spain gave a major boost to the movement in Britain, and Albert's activities ranged from organizing solidarity appeals, producing propaganda, working with Capt. J. R. White to ship illegal arms from Hamburg to the CNT in Spain, and acting as a contact for the Spanish anarchist intelligence services in Britain.

Albert's early working career ranged from fairground promoter, a theatre-hand and occasional film extra, including a brief appearance in the Leslie Howard, anti-Nazi film, "Pimpernel Smith." The movie did not follow the usual wartime cinema line of victory over Hitler, but rather of revolution in Europe.

The plot called for showing Communist prisoners, but by the time Howard made the film in 1940, Stalin had invaded Finland, and the script was changed to anarchist prisoners. Howard decided that none of the actors playing the anarchists seemed authentic and insisted that real anarchists, including Albert, be used as extras in the concentration camp scenes.

Albert's later working years were spent as a second-hand bookseller and, finally, as a Fleet Street copytaker. His last employer was, strangely enough the mainstream *Daily Telegraph*.

Albert's championing of class-struggle anarchism, coupled with his skepticism of the student-led 1960s New Left earned

him his reputation for sectarianism. Paradoxically, as friend and Black Flag cartoonist Phil Ruff points out in his introduction to Albert's autobiography, it was the discovery of class struggle anarchism through *Black Flag's* "sectarianism," under Albert's editorship, that convinced so many anarchists of his and subsequent generations to become active in the movement.

To Albert, all privilege was the enemy of human freedom, not just the privileges of capitalists, kings, bureaucrats and politicians, but also the petty aspirations of opportunists and careerists among the rebels themselves.

It is difficult to write a public appreciation of such an inscrutably private man. Much of what he contributed to the lives of those who knew him must go unrecorded, but he will be remembered fondly for many years to come by those of us whose lives he touched.

—Stuart Christie, PO Box 35, Hastings, East Sussex, TN34 2UX, UK

Fifth Estate note: Friends of Albert Meltzer have launched The Meltzer Press to continue the work of their departed comrade. They will collaborate with the Kate Sharpley Library to publish new and out-of-print libertarian texts. The first offering is Juan Busquet Verges' *Sentenced to Death Under Franco*. For info write The Meltzer Press, PO Box 35, Hastings, East Sussex, TN34 2UX, England.

See more obituaries on page 12.

Valerio Isca

December 22, 1900-June 13, 1996

Valerio's friends remember him as all heart, tenderness and love. He remained steadfast in his commitment to anarchist principles from the time, as a recent immigrant from Italy in the 1920s, he became involved in the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

It was in anarchist circles that he met his companion of fifty years, Ida Pilat. Ida was a skilled translator from and into French, Spanish, German and Yiddish and her contributions appeared in numerous North American and European anarchist publications. Ida died in 1980. She and Valerio worked to prevent the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, but the state exercised its vengeance in 1928.

They both were energetic members of the Libertarian Book Club in New York City. It was founded in 1945 and was one of the most active anarchist groups during the post-Second World War years. The group published important anarchist texts and maintained a mail order book service.

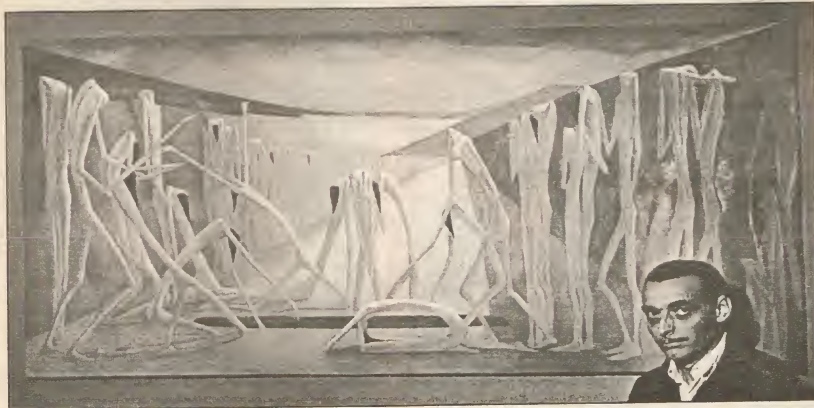
Valerio was close to the group of North American Spanish anarchists, *Cultura Proletaria* for whom the Spanish Revolution was a significant event. After Franco's 1939 military victory, they devoted themselves to saving prisoners in fascist jails. They also kept the anti-Franco struggle alive and assisted Spanish émigrés in French concentration camps.

Valerio and Ida built a house in the anarchist Mohegan Colony where Rudolf Rocker and his family lived. They were comrades as well as neighbors and Valerio remembered with pride how he was instrumental in having Rocker's classic *Nationalism and Culture* published in Italian.

Valerio was a living history book of the anarchist movement and could relate names and details of events with great precision. He was an excellent photographer and left an archive of the photographs of friends and comrades he met throughout his long life.

Valerio was keen-witted and alert until the end and his generosity and warm-heartedness were evident upon meeting him. Several years ago he visited us at the *Fifth Estate* office and everyone present still cherishes the memory of that afternoon.

—F.A.



Alfredo Monró with one of his paintings

Alfredo Monró

April 12, 1910-Sept. 28, 1995

The death of Alfredo Monró in Montreal saddened us at the *Fifth Estate*. Born in Spain, Monró and his family emigrated to Montreal in 1951.

For 50 years his artistic work furthered the anarchist and anti-fascist movements. Monró is best known for his drawings which can be found in numerous anarchist journals and books, including the cover of

José Peirats' *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* published at Detroit's Printing Co-op.

A famous Monró's drawing was used to protest the 1963 death sentences of Joaquín Delgado and Francisco Granados by the Franco regime in Spain. The method of execution was the garrot, a device which strangles the victim. Posters of the Monró drawing depicting horrifying figures of an executioner and his victim were paraded at Spanish embassies across Europe and

North America.

A reprint of the image, also done at the Printing Co-op, was used in 1974 when Salvador Puig Antich was garroted in Barcelona and Heinz Chej in Tarragon for their anti-fascist activity.

The loss of a friend and comrade is always painful, but his legacy impels us to keep on fighting for our cause. Salud! Alfredo!

—F. A.



Sacco and Vanzetti. "Long live anarchy"—Sacco —graphic: Tony Doyle

Political Prisoner Update

"They're in there for us; we're out here for them."—JWW slogan

Geronimo ji jaga

On May 15th the California State Supreme Court returned Geronimo's request for a new trial to a lower court. This is good news because at this level his lawyers will be able to present new evidence showing Geronimo's innocence and the FBI cover-up. A former Black Panther Party member, Geronimo has spent 24 years in prison, making him one of the longest held political prisoners in the world. For more information, contact the Geronimo support committee: PO Box 781328, Los Angeles CA 90016; (213) 294-8320.—from *Slingshot*, 3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley CA 94705; (510) 540-0751

Leonard Peltier

On April 7th, in an expression of international solidarity, Subcomandante Marcos of the EZLN and over 200 others sent a letter from the Lacandon jungle in Mexico to President Clinton demanding Leonard's immediate and unconditional freedom. On May 3rd, Leonard again went into surgery for jaw work. He experienced some complications during surgery and as a result lost a lot of blood. Fortunately, Leonard seems to be recovering fine. Send cards of support and postal money orders to: Leonard Peltier, #89637-132, Box 1000, Leavenworth KS 66048.—from *Slingshot*

Mumia Abu-Jamal

New evidence has emerged to further prove Mumia is the victim of a police frame-up. His defense attorneys announced at a May 22 press conference that an eyewitness to the shooting death of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner was coerced into giving false testimony at Mumia's 1982 trial implicating him in the shooting.

The witness, Veronica Jones, who identified Mumia as the shooter at his trial, was facing felony charges on an unrelated matter at the time of the killing. She was present at the incident which began when Mumia intervened to stop his brother from being beaten by Faulkner. After a murky and disputed interlude, the officer was dead and Mumia lay wounded in the street by a shot from the cop's gun.

Jones originally told police she saw two men flee the scene, but changed her

story after receiving threats and promises from two Philadelphia detectives. She said the cops told her if she refused, they would make sure she served her full sentence. After testifying to the police version of the shooting and denying seeing the fleeing men, her felony charges were dropped.

Jones' statement confirms those of several other witnesses who have come forward since the trial to tell of a shooter who fled the scene. Withholding and fabrication of evidence and the coercion and intimidation of witnesses are part of a pattern by the Philadelphia police. Recently, numerous convictions have been overturned following the arrest of several cops on corruption, brutality and perjury charges.

Mumia's appeal is still pending before the state high court which may not render a decision until early 1997.

Also, Mumia recently filed a \$2 million law suit against National Public Radio for refusing to air his commentaries about life on death row. His attorney said NPR censored him because of political pressure following complaints from conservative forces led by then-Senator Bob Dole and the Philadelphia police association.

Contact: Equal Justice USA, POB 5206, Hyattsville MD; (301) 699-0042.

Ray Luc Levasseur

In 1995, Ray was sent from the control unit at Marion prison in Illinois, formerly the most severe cellblock within the federal system, to the brand new Administrative Maximum Facility (ADX) at Florence, Colorado. At the ADX's opening ceremony, Attorney General Janet Reno repeated the State's justification for these dungeons as a final sanction against recalcitrant convicts in prison (to contain "the worst of the worst," she claimed). However, it was the "politicals" who quickly found themselves buried inside a Colorado mountain, not violent prison offenders; the inmates blamed for killing two Marion guards in 1982 were not sent west.

The ADX offers a step-by-step program to gain release from the control unit to less restrictive cellblocks in the Florence complex. The final "privilege" is working at the UNICOR factory, a prison company contracting with the Department of Defense. Most political prisoners refuse to do such work, therefore never qualifying to leave the ADX.

Jack Squat and the Giant Pink Bunnies in Central Idaho

THE FIGHT TO SAVE COVE/MALLARD

by Natalie Shapiro and Gary Macfarlane

Deep in the wilds of central Idaho is a wild bunch of pissed-off people. No, not militias! We're people resisting the destruction of one of the last untouched forested areas in this country.

Welcome to Jack Squat, summer 1996, the year activists reclaimed a logging road in the contentious Cove/Mallard timber sale area. Visitors gawked when they approached the Jack Creek logging road in July.

They were met by a wall of metal glistening in the sun: eleven 20-foot-long culvert pipes stacked smack in the middle of the road. In front of this formidable wall was a slash pile proudly proclaiming, "Wild Rockies Free State." Beyond the culverts, a concrete lock-down structure, two tripods, a bipod, and an encampment stretched across the road. Beyond that... well, that's for later! For 40 days and nights we guarded this road, preventing road builders from finishing bulldozing through pristine streams and critical wolf

Flash! As we go to press: A federal judge has halted all logging and road construction in the Cove/Mallard area until June 1997 following a Sept. 12 agreement between a sporting group which brought suit, the Forest Service and the lumber company. Direct action works!

and salmon habitat.

Cove/Mallard, a 76,000 acre roadless area near the Salmon River, is a critical wildlife corridor between three federally designated wilderness areas. It is a place where one can still hear the howl of a wolf, see rare critters such as pine martens, and drink straight out of creeks without getting sick.

Take a short hike into Cove/Mallard and you'll realize what it's like to stand on a hill and see no roads, buildings, or telephone wires. You won't hear cars or the hum of electricity. Instead, you'll see vast contiguous swaths of trees untouched by clearcuts. You'll see old growth firs and pines and acres of tall, spindly lodgepole.

You'll hear the rush of creeks, the wind blowing through the trees, and maybe a pileated woodpecker or two.

The US Forest Service has plans to end this serenity. In 1990, with a stroke of a pen, the Forest Supervisor of the Nez Perce National Forest signed the fate of this amazing place by designating 200 cutting units and 145 miles of roads in the area. The timber sales violate existing environmental laws and regulations. Soon after the logging and road building started, pristine creeks began filling with sediment, which is death for endangered salmon.

This summer was our fifth year of direct, active resistance to this madness. Hippies, anarchists, biologists, ex-bureaucrats, and mainstream enviros have shivered on tripods and in holes in the road, been arrested, beaten, and thrown in jail. Our perseverance has paid off. This summer was the first time we blockaded the road for so long. This also held off the roadbuilders while we waited for a temporary injunction hearing date in September.

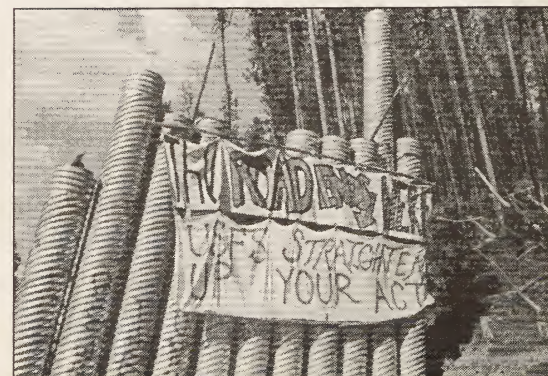
A combination of events made the Jack Squat action successful. The annual Earth First! Round River Rendezvous site (RRR) in July was held only three miles from the Jack road gate. Rendezvous participants slipped back and forth continuously between the big party and the big action.

Bunnies Bop and Log Cabins Appear

One late June night, a handful of sleep-deprived activists erected two tripods, a bipod, and a concrete "dragon." A couple of days later, the EF! Rendezvous kicked off in grand style. In a feat rivaling the best (or worst) the Forest Service or Army Corps of Engineers could dish up, a culvert structure was added to the Jack Timber Sale road blockade. Official government culverts were tipped on end, creating a twenty-foot high welcome wall of resembling the pipes of a giant circus organ.

Amid this backdrop, Big Pink Bunnies began their work at night. These mammals who love to rehabilitate noxious roads are most prevalent around Earth First!-type gatherings. Night after night, while RRR

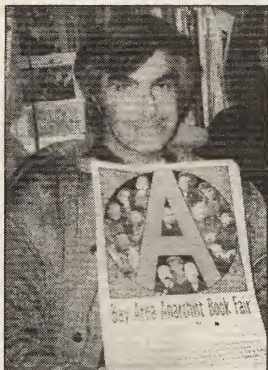
Continued on page 12



Road culverts block a logging road in Cove/Mallard, Idaho. —photo/EF!

Fallen Anarchist Comrades

Obituaries continued from page 10



Tet Tetenbaum

Richard "Tet" Tetenbaum

Richard "Tet" Tetenbaum, a linchpin of the San Francisco Anarchist community, died of cancer on June 2.

Tet was active in a variety of anarchist attempts to create community spaces, and an activist who lived anarchism in his personal life. He shunned traditional forms of wage labor whenever he could, but was a hard and dedicated worker for the things he believed in.

Tet was involved with most of the San Francisco anarchist community's major ongoing projects. He was one of the founders of Bound Together Anarchist Books, where he worked for 20 years. Tet was one of few people deeply respected by the various anarchist communities in the Bay area, and his death brought together (at least for a few hours) many people who despised each others' politics.

The day after he died, 200 of his comrades gathered to pay tribute to him. We told stories about his life and recounted our experiences with him.

Tet drove a taxicab which gave him opportunity to do something he really loved—talk with people. On a number of occasions, he would bring a receptive passenger by Bound Together in the middle of the night to show them anarchist literature.

One person recounted how, when he came to San Francisco, Tet seemed to be everywhere: "When I was shopping at my collective community foodstore (the Inner Sunset) Tet was behind the counter; when I looked for information at my local anarchist bookstore Tet was there, and when I had to catch a ride somewhere Tet seemed to always pass by in his cab and offer me a lift."

Another person told the story of sailing with Tet under the city's July 4th fireworks and being confronted by police speedboats. "The cops were surprised that we didn't obey their requests to leave the area and that we didn't appear frightened of them. They didn't realize that we had been disobeying orders from authority figures all our lives."

Tet spent his final weeks in a hospice, surrounded by caring friends. Though his parents and relatives initially wanted him placed in a hospital, they were moved by

the emotional support shown by his comrades and realized how important it was for him to be in a non-institutional setting.

As his condition deteriorated, his immediate family thought Tet should be protected from the constant stream of visitors and suggested drawing up a list of people authorized to see him. However, even at the edge of death, Tet would not create a hierarchy among his many friends. Those of us from his extended family of comrades feel our visits sustained him in his final days.

Tet had ambiguous feelings about having to sell books in order to keep Bound Together open. He was the kind of person who, seeing someone stealing a book, would say, "As long as you're planning on reading it, go ahead and take it."

—Howard Besser

Earnest Mann

Although half-mast flags in April marked the death of U.S. Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, our thoughts instead were on Earnest Mann, editor of what must have been the longest running zine in existence, the *Little Free Press*.

The 69-year-old Mann was bludgeoned to death in March by his teenage grandson who then took his own life. The two had been living together in a Little Falls, Minnesota, trailer court.

A former successful real estate investor, Mann dropped out in 1969 to live a contemplative life and promote his quixotic "Priceless Economic System." Described as "definitely the most idealistic, and arguably the most naive set of pamphlets" (High Weirdness By Mail, Siang, 1988), the *Little Free Press* was part crusade, part autobiography about squirrel trapping, raft building, and grandson raising.

Mann first received regional attention in 1978 when Minneapolis Tribune columnist Larry Batson wrote about his quest to promote freedom. By the time the national media noticed him he was already widely known throughout the zine network via Mike Gunderloy's Factsheet Five which reviewed *Little Free Press* #41 in 1982.

Thirteen and a half years later, Mann was still at it, pumping out issue #138 and visualizing "peace on Earth and goodwill." Profoundly human, an enjoyer of books and simple pleasures, an anarchist and atheist, who never ceased his one-person utopian experiment, he will be missed.

Mann's writings are compiled in his self-published *I was robot (Utopia now possible)*.—Chris Dodge

Jim Gustafson

Detroit poet Jim Gustafson died Oct. 24 at the age of 46 from a brain hemorrhage. Jim was never housebroken; he was a constant irritant to polite society and a constant amazement to those who knew him.

Jim authored several books and appeared in various anthologies including a recent collection, *Up Late*, edited by Andrei Codrescu. He appeared in *Paris Review*, *Rolling Stone*, *Exquisite Corpse*, the *Fifth Estate* and other publications.

Gustafson wrote his own epitaph: *When I die I just want a jukebox for a tombstone/ and to leave all my friends/rolls of quarters*.—Ken Mikolowski



Procrustes on the Job; graphic by M. Spira. Procrustes was a robber of ancient Attica who placed all who fell into his hands upon an iron bed. If they were longer than the bed, he cut off the redundant part; if shorter, he stretched them to fit. Hence, *procrustean*: the tendency to achieve uniformity by violent means.

THE FIGHT TO SAVE COVE/MALLARD

Continued from page 11

revelers were snug in their bedrolls, serious road restoration (can you say, "ripping!") and mysterious rune-writing took place on the Jack Creek road. Tank traps and ditches were dug, a 25 foot section of road was ripped out, and two log cabins appeared on the road. There were even rumors of rousing music accompanying the busy denizens of the night.

The road contractors were supposed to finish work by July 12, but gave it up rather than deal with us. They started a week earlier than planned, probably to make up for time lost during the Rendezvous week. However, a week after the Rendezvous was over, the Freddie's (Forest Service officers), still weren't willing to bust activists on the road or post a closure notice of it.

However, all good things come to an end. On August 7, 40 cops, including Freddie law enforcement officers, county sheriffs, Fish and Game, and Department of Corrections cops, swarmed into the Jack Squad. Some of them were wielding AR-15 submachine guns, all to protect themselves from a dozen or so Earthies!!

If it wasn't so disgusting, it would be hilarious. One cop pulled the out a leg from a tripod causing the guy sitting 30 feet above to fall with the tripod on top of him. Soon, a huge excavator ripped apart the log cabins, filled in the road, and angered the Big Pink Bunnies still lurking in the woods.

The good news is that a deal made between the Idaho Sporting Congress, the Freddie's, and the timber company, means that no logging or roadbuilding will be permitted until next June. Meanwhile, a

lawsuit to stop logging in Cove/Mallard will be heard soon.

But, even if we win at Cove/Mallard, there's plenty of other ugly shit happening all through Idaho! So, plan on being here next summer!

For more information contact: Cove/Mallard Coalition, POB 8968, Moscow, ID 83843; (208)882-9755.

Statement of Ownership, Management, & Circulation

Title of publication: Fifth Estate. Publication number: 710420. Date of Filing: Oct. 21, 1996. Frequency of Issue: quarterly. Annual subscription price: \$8. Complete mailing address 4632 Second Ave., Detroit, Wayne Co., Michigan 48201. Publisher: The Fifth Estate Newspaper. Editor: None. Managing Editor: None. Owner: The Fifth Estate Newspaper, 4632 Second Ave., Detroit, Wayne Co., Michigan 48201. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders: None. Extent and nature of circulation (a) average number of copies each issue during the preceding 12 months; (b) actual number of single issue published nearest to filing date. Total number copies (net press run). (a) 5000; (b) 5000. Paid and or requested circulation: Sales through dealers and vendors: (a) 2761; (b) 2761. Mail subscriptions: (a) 1061; (b) 1061. Total paid and or requested circulation: (a) 3822; (b) 3822. Free distribution by mail: (a) 100; (b) 100. Free distribution Outside the Mail (Carriers and Other Means) (a) 1000; (b) 1000. Total distribution: (a) 4922; (b) 4922. Copies not distributed: (a) 50; (b) 50. Return from news agents: (a) 28; (b) 28. Total: (a) 5000; (b) 5000. Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation: (a) 76%; (b) 76%. I certify that the above statements are correct and complete. Peter Werbe, Business Manager.

Anarchists Scapegoated for Quebec Riot

by Michael William

June 24, Quebec's national holiday, St. Jean Baptiste Day, is usually an uneasy combination of healthy fun and not so healthy flag waving. This year's celebrations in Quebec City, the seat of the provincial parliament, turned hotter than usual.

Following the traditional outdoor concert, people flowed into D'Youville Square, the hangout of punks and countercultural types in the city, joining others already there. Cops began making arrests, provoking resistance from the crowd. Bricks and bottles began to fly.

The cops brought in a water cannon and the riot squad. Though the former proved as effective as a garden hose, the cops pushed the crowd out of the square and 2,000 people continued to riot, looting 80 shops.

At one point during the disturbance, a crowd of hundreds gathered at the Parliament and hurled paving stones and other objects at the buildings. 140 windows were done in, including all those on the first floor of the main building. A statue on the grounds was upended, and people broke into another building, causing damage and setting a fire.

The next morning, Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard presided over an award ceremony at the Parliament while workers went about repairs. Ordering an inquiry into the riot, Bouchard quickly opined that attacking the Parliament was an "accident," an "irrational act" by "people who didn't know what they were doing."

Quebec City Police Director Norman Bergeron then advanced his shock take: an extreme right-wing group—which he refused to name—was behind the riot. "People from this group led the riot," he affirmed.

Anarchists Not Behind the Riot

Less plausible still was a theory in the tabloid *Photo Police*. In this version the purpose of the riot was to boost the U.S. tourist industry! "These riots were planned and organized by the CIA at the request of powerful New England lobbies so that the East Coast of the U.S. could profit from tarnishing Quebec's reputation."

Then a new voice made itself heard in the swirl of conspiracy theories. According to a local group called the World Anti-Fascist League (LAM), it was the anarchists, and more specifically, the collective which edits the libertarian-communist journal, *Démanarchie*, who were behind the riot. LAM president, Alain Dufour, brandished a copy of *Démanarchie* on TV featuring a picture of a burning cop car and pointed to an editorial and articles discussing two recent riots in Quebec. The LAM's 15 minutes of fame at *Démanarchie*'s expense included interviews with Dufour on numerous TV and radio stations and quotes in most Montreal and Quebec City dailies.

Démanarchie responded in a statement rejecting "all claims of authorship and ownership" of the riot, stating "the riot belongs only to those who participated in it." Riots are "spontaneous," they repeated from a previous editorial. "The hunt for scapegoats is an attempt to disguise the authorities' responsibility for the ever-worsening social climate which is making more and more people feel like they have less and less to lose."

The LAM thesis was initially dismissed by police director Bergeron as "not seri-



Punks armed with squeegees mock Montreal cops in a demo called to protest the repression of *Démanarchie* and Food Not Bombs

ous." He was aware of *Démanarchie*, he said, but the group was too marginal to create such an event. Soon, however, the focus of the police investigation began to shift. The offending *Démanarchie* cover again appeared on the front pages of the papers, brandished this time by the Quebec City police director of criminal investigation. The cops were still concentrating on the "professional agitator" thesis, he said, though now they were unsure which ones ("Left, right, I'm not into politics; I'm a policeman").

Next, the raids started. The police first went to homes of people active with Quebec City Food Not Bombs which shares a post office box with *Démanarchie* (even though the people visited are not in *Démanarchie*). Although the Food Not Bombs members were out of town during the riot, the cops discovered several pot plants, providing an excuse to arrest them when they returned. The political nature of their treatment was evident from the outset. Refusing to grant bail, the judge stated: "It would sicken me to liberate philosophers of anarchy."

The pot plants were part of a sinister plot, he theorized, a "way of putting people to sleep to get them to swallow propaganda easier." The sentences handed down were harsher than the norm. Again linking them to the riot they hadn't participated in, the judge informed them that, for a year following their release they were not to be present in the Parliament area or the walled historic section of Quebec City where much of the looting took place.

Then a member of *Démanarchie* was picked up while street selling the journal in Quebec City. The cops went on to raid his apartment where they confiscated a computer and other anarchist journals. Released without being charged, he was visited twice more by the cops, who asked him about his role in *Démanarchie* and whether he knew various people in the radical milieu.

Next, the Montreal apartment of one of the founders of the journal was raided. Again, a computer and anarchist journals were seized, but no charges laid.

In Montreal, a coalition of anarchists, community groups and leftist organizations called a press conference to denounce the arrest for street selling a radical journal, the witch-hunt against *Démanarchie*

and the opportunistic role of the LAM. A demo was also announced.

Interviewed by the daily Montreal paper *La Presse* about the pro-*Démanarchie* press conference, Dufour of the right-wing LAM bashed back, saying it was his organization which was being used as a scapegoat. Dufour did not neglect to play up a major asset in the eyes of the mainstream media: his group's non-radicalness: "The LAM isn't perfect, but we're not a subversive movement."

Two hundred people turned up at the demo at Berri Square, a hangout for Montreal punks and marginals. In the last few months the square has been the object of a clean-up operation with cops harassing and ticketing people. Among the ten or so speakers were the two *Démanarchie* people who were raided and a representative of Food Not Bombs. As things were winding down, the cops arrested the anarchist who MCEd the event, saying he had broken his probation conditions which stipulated he not attend demos. Sixty people, mainly punks by this time, marched to the local copshop, sitting in front of it and blocking off the street. After a tense two-hour standoff, the person arrested was released, to the heated applause of those present.

The Disturbances Continue

At this point, the debate shifted to the "alternative" media. Montreal's three news/cultural weekly freebies, where numerous articles, editorials and letters appeared about the role of the LAM and the witch-hunt against *Démanarchie*. By now, its credibility on the line, the LAM began to sing a different tune or rather a number of tunes. "I don't like *Démanarchie*. They make no sense and they have no credibility," said the president of the LAM out of one side of his mouth. "I don't want a war with *Démanarchie*" he spouted out of the other, saying he had a "lot of respect" for anarchists.

As of this writing the dust has yet to settle.

•Several of the 81 arrested in the riot remain in jail, some with 18 or 20-month sentences.

•On July 29 a speakout at D'Youville square in Quebec City organized by *Démanarchie* and *Hé... Bastia!*, a Quebec City anarchist zine, attracted about 100.

•On the same day an illegal demo took

place at midnight in Berri Square in Montreal. It was called by Food Not Bombs to protest the recent change of status of the site from a square to a park, meaning it is closed from midnight to 6 a.m. and much more stringent rules are enforced. Food Not Bombs distributes cooked meals once a week in the square.

Two hundred people occupied the square, sitting in small groups throughout the one-block area. After vegetarian food was served, people gathered to listen to fiddle and banjo music. Later, song sheets were passed out, and anarchist songs sung. People then shouted along with political punk music from a ghetto blaster and swirled in an improvised pit. At about 2:30 a.m., a bonfire was built.

The cops remained discreet, circling the park without stopping their cars. At 4 a.m., the remaining people were rushed by riot cops moving in from different sides. People were forced out of the square, but regrouped and reoccupied it an hour and fifteen minutes later, after the cops left. The riot cops returned, surrounded the protesters, and made 70 arrests, including many anarchists. People were released the next day and hit with \$116 tickets for being in a public park when it was officially closed.

•In early September, the fourth riot in six months broke out at an annual festival in West Quebec near the Ontario border. A half-dozen young people had been expelled from a concert by the cops. When the show ended, almost 50 youths gathered outside the site and pelted the police with objects. The crowd quickly expanded to 250 people. The cops were obliged to flee, leaving their cruisers which sustained \$1,000 in damage.

Reinforcements, including Mounties (the RCMP, national police force) arrived and the rioters departed, getting away with no arrests.

•In June, a cop warned a *Démanarchie* member that charges for inciting the Quebec City riot could be lodged within 60 days. Now that this has lapsed, charges are less likely.

Contact addresses: *Démanarchie*, C.P. 32100, Montreal, Que. Canada H2L 4Y5. Food Not Bombs, 2035 St. Laurent, 2nd floor, Montreal, Que. Canada H2X 2T3. Michael William, C.P. 1554, Succ. B. Montreal, Que., Canada H3B 3L2.

Sex and Pleasure Activism

by UnrULee

More Out Than In: Notes on Sex, Art, and Community, edited by Rachel Kaplan and Keith Hennessy. Abundant Fuck Publications, San Francisco, 1995, 100 pp., \$5

Get out your scissors for that standard map of the possible! There have been some bold scouting parties for a world of liberated desire the last few years, and some of the boldest have just put a book out on their discoveries.

More Out than In is a collection of writings about the 848 community space, a do-it-yourself, multi-use space available to all manner of experimenters, crossing the boundaries of art, oppositional politics, and sexual liberation. Since it opened in San Francisco in 1992, 848 has probably hosted a wider range and volume of sex-positive events than any other public space in the world.

The book is remarkable for its introspection and invitation to self-criticism. It takes rare courage to step back and examine what you've done the way 848 has and to be open to change. Also, it's inspiring to read personal anecdotes of public, fully uncensored love and realize its incredible diversity.

But the more I think about it, the more irritated I get with much of the criticism. Phrases like "too much sex," and "sacrifice and service" are used amid discussions of the "relative exchange weight" of "issues of sexual identity to issues of inequality. . . ." This reminds me of Murray Bookchin's recently published *Lifestyle Anarchism* or So-

cial Anarchism: An Unbridgable Chasm. His book is largely an attack on *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*, *Fifth Estate*, and Hakim Bey for their treatment of the liberation of desire and the expansion of autonomy for authentic lives of adventure and rebellion as opposed to programmatic political organization building.

Sex & Pleasure Activism

Much of the criticism of "sex and pleasure activism" in the 848 book seems akin to Bookchin's morality-based "social" anarchist perspective. To speak of pleasure activism and class war activism as distinct and competing seems curious to me. Still, much of the dialogue in *More Out Than In* seems aimed at a further evolution of the discussion about sex and liberation, which is positive. The book also includes an excerpt from a 1966 interview with Henry Miller about the shallowness of the "sexual revolution" at that time.

"It was always more the total liberation of one's self that I was concerned with" as he saw it: "Sexual freedom and the effort toward that should only be one aspect of a movement toward much larger freedom—to think and act freely and creatively, in every domain!" One more effort, sex-pots . . . We don't just want better sex lives, we want our whole lives to be sex lives!

Similarly, I want to foment an insurgence of erotic, playful activity that knows no boundaries, to pursue the "emergence and rapid spread of creatures that will be living embodiments of the surreal, those who will stop the world and open up new possibilities for meeting our needs and relating to one another and the natural world in a more balanced and pleasurable way," as my friend Paul E. Morphous puts it.

Gardeners Against Work

I've tried to make this real through such forms as the Gardeners Against the Work

Ethic Association in Carbondale, Ill.: This 1994 attempt at a summer of sprawling festivity included a costumed lawn rip-up for a "free feast garden," many mind-altering experiments in non-verbal behavior and non-sexual, but intense physical touch and play ("eroplay" as Frank Moore calls it), a prank proclamation where the city council declared Wednesdays a holiday, and various "space poaching" contestations of normalcy, like a group erotic stumbling exercise in a mall.

I've traveled across country with a nomadic band in a school bus as another anarchic experiment. In contrast to the socialistic somberness of Bookchin's anarchism, we seek to create *anarchy* on the level of immediate experience. Our activity is an underground current of libertarian enticement to a revolutionary transformation that is a geyser of pleasure pushing away all constraints.

When I read about the 848 space, I feel a deep a resonance as well as significant differences with the participants. Inspired largely by the Living Theater's call for an "art that would instigate and support and be a revolution," 848's approach to the fusion of art/politics/life might benefit from an encounter with that of the Situationists, with their call for a revolution that would abolish art as a separate category by realizing it in every day life. At the same time, the situationist-inspired milieu has largely ceased to have any living creative practice whereas 848 has much of the vital quality of a launching pad for contestations beyond the boundaries of art.

As I dream of what could be next for me and my shifting webwork of collaborators, I



Repressive desublimation: Lesbian cops at a NYC Gay Pride march. Oooh, that nightstick!

ask myself, what have been the limits of our insurgent play? Are we ready for something more intense; some deeper and more conscious alteration of consciousness, post-linguistic frolics and eroplay? Momentum is building for centers of experimental ludic life, such as rural base camps in dynamic interplay with urban areas.

How might we attempt a sustained psycho-geographic assault on an environment? And how might our projects be informed by the 848 experience?

More Out Than In is available from 848 Community Space, 848 Divisadero, San Francisco CA 94117.

Margaret Sanger: Anarchy & the Early Birth Control Movement

by Beni

Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America, Ellen Chesler. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992, 639 pp.

Chesler obviously admires and empathizes with early twentieth century feminist and birth control advocate Margaret Sanger, but portrays Sanger honestly, showing how her personal faults and foibles affected what she was trying to accomplish, and how her strengths allowed her to accomplish so much.

The book's dust-jacket blurb informs the reader that Chesler has a BA from Vassar, and an MA and Ph.D. in history from Columbia, and "has long worked in local government, politics, and civic affairs." She is obviously a feminist who shares many of Sanger's views, and finds Sanger's life extremely interesting. But Chesler is, to put it bluntly, an all-too-common academic feminist who confuses history and biography with autobiography, and who, at some critical point during their research, suddenly realizes that their hero, or their model, or their ancestor is actually a normal human being whose behavior or desires or philosophy include crucial elements the biographer finds personally detestable.

So, the biographer begins to tinker with

the truth, consciously or unconsciously, and somehow hides or camouflages the worst or more perverted aspects. To Chesler, the worst aspect is Sanger's anarchism and libertarian socialism. Chesler seems extremely uncomfortable with anarchists and anarchism, and she constantly downplays both, putting quotations around the terms whenever she cannot afford to ignore them entirely.

Originally a Debsian socialist, Sanger was influenced by Emma Goldman (which Chesler portrays honestly and in detail), but she also became an anarchist herself (which Chesler tries to hide by characterizing Sanger's anarchism as "socialism" or by portraying it as ill-digested wobblyism).

Goldman and Berkman are the only two people in Sanger's life Chesler identifies as "anarchists." Sanger was active in the anarchist Ferrer movement in New York, but Chesler identifies Ferrer as a "free thinker and educational reformer," and by implication turns his anarchist followers into liberal reformers, too. Peter Kropotkin is identified simply as a "prominent theorist of moderate socialism" who influenced Goldman!

Similarly, Chesler omits the fact that Sanger's friend, Frank Tannenbaum, was a well-known anarchist activist, and that her life-long friend Carlo Tresca was also a famous New York City anarchist until he was assassinated for his beliefs in the early 1940. Chesler reproduces the front page of Sanger's first issue of her anarchist periodical, *The Woman Rebel*, including the prominent subtitle, "No Gods, No Masters." Chesler mischaracterizes this as "a provocative Wobbly banner." She also makes the typically ignorant mistake of identifying the IWW as "International Workers of the World."

Only that final error can be attributed to Chesler's ignorance; the others are obviously intentional since anarchist historian Paul Avrich is credited as personally assisting Chesler in her research, particularly on the Ferrer movement. Also, she cites all the major primary and secondary sources on Emma Goldman, the IWW in exhaustive detail in her footnotes.

Despite these problems, Chesler goes further than other major writers in killing the myth (started by Sanger herself) that Sanger was never "really" a radical. However, Chesler purposely minimizes Sanger's early radical beliefs by implying she either did not take them seriously or they were so marginal they were easily given up.

Using Chesler's own research, I interpret Sanger's shift away from anarchism and radicalism as a combination of pragmatism (she realized she'd never be successful remaining part of the anarchist movement) and personality conflicts (she developed such a personal dislike for Goldman and other well-known anarchists that she no longer wanted anything to do with them or their movement), as well as her realization that the economism, laborism and male orientation of the IWW

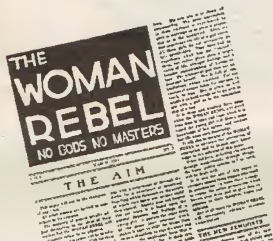
BOOK REVIEWS

anarchists would never be of any help to women of the sort that Sanger saw as her audience, her constituency, and her mission.

Again, using Chesler's own detailed research, I draw the conclusion that Sanger remained a radical and a socialist—perhaps even a libertarian socialist—in her own mind. I'm fairly certain she did not see herself as an anarchist after about 1915. Sanger apparently blamed the anarchist Ferrer school at the Stelton colony in New Jersey for the death of her daughter Peggy in November 1915, and Chesler shows quite clearly that Sanger never got over the death.

Also, I think, anarchist activists never got over Sanger's "theft" of one of their most popular concerns: a woman's right to her own body. Sanger took this issue from the anarchists, gradually stripped it of its truly subversive and radical content, reduced it to a demand for "birth control" in the minds of most people, and so identified it with her own name that even those radicals who supported birth control and related demands had to be somewhat circumspect in their public support for it.

Sanger remained a committed feminist for her entire life, although her public radicalism was a small part of her long and active life. Even with its problems, Chesler's book functions as an excellent history of the birth control and feminist movements and Sanger's role in them.



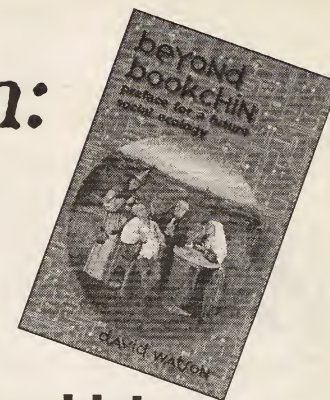
Sanger's paper, *The Woman Rebel*, 1914

Excerpts from

Beyond Bookchin: Preface for a Future Social Ecology

by David Watson

**New FE book examines the work
of North America's best known anarchist**



Introduction

by Steve Welzer

The text which begins on the following page is excerpted from *Beyond Bookchin: Preface for a Future Social Ecology*, a new title co-published in fall 1996 by Black & Red, Detroit, and Autonomedia, Brooklyn. Its author is *Fifth Estate* staff member David Watson.

In Murray Bookchin's extensive writings on ecology and anarchism spanning four decades, he has tried to take us beyond Marx toward a more fundamental critique, a holistic rationality, a deeper freedom. He is recognized in many anti-authoritarian circles as an anarchist luminary and elder of significant importance to the extent some identify themselves as "Bookchinists." Under the watchword of "coherence," Bookchin has sought nothing less than the full explanation. But David Watson's latest book shows that Bookchin's work ultimately falls far short of its pretensions, and thus fails to guide us toward the promised "pathways to a green future."

Bookchin's elaboration of a radical philosophy he has called social ecology is self-consciously part of an important tran-

sition of thought, from a "red" to a "green" analysis and critique. Yet, despite his pivotal role in the initiatory phases of that process, Bookchin has opened doors through which he could or will not pass. It is left to others to explore the full implications of the emerging ecological-communitarian radicalism.

Drawn to Eco-Anarchism

During the mid-1970s, while Bookchin was working on his magnum opus, *The Ecology of Freedom*, the group of activists publishing the *Fifth Estate* was also addressing the question of a post-marxist radicalism. Their attention was drawn to alternatives such as eco-anarchism (several pieces by Bookchin were reproduced in FEs with positive commentary), council communism, and situationist theory.¹

At that time, the *Fifth Estate* staff was prone to describe themselves as "libertarian communists." But the group was exploring critiques from disparate sources and, as one staffer recently wrote, "We decided the dictum, 'All isms are wasms' was correct and began extending the anti-authoritarian critique beyond the obvious oppression of capitalism and the state to uncover deeper roots of the repression of the human spirit and the biosphere."²

In the late 1980s, when Watson (often using the pseudonym George Bradford)

wrote several essays critical of deep ecology, it was widely assumed he must be a Bookchinite. However, those who read the essays carefully could see that Watson was far from sympathetic to Bookchin's alternative to deep ecology.³

In a footnote to his essay, "Return of the Son of Deep Ecology," Watson pledged to examine Bookchin's work in depth at a later time. *Beyond Bookchin* fulfills that pledge and at the same time represents one of the fullest expositions of the evolving perspective of the *Fifth Estate* over the last fifteen years.

Many of those who thought they could find a way forward from a tattered and discredited marxism or antiquated anarchism through the "coherence" of Bookchin's social ecology have either been thoroughly disillusioned or learned to tolerate a very uneven and idiosyncratic stream of work from an increasingly cantankerous pen.

Bookchin the Modernist

Although Bookchin's work prompted important discussions in new left, counter-cultural and ecology circles about technology, ecology and the prospects for social transformation, Watson demonstrates that Bookchin has been far too much the modernist to comprehend the implications of the "holocaust of holocausts" unfolding in

our time.⁴

In *Beyond Bookchin*, Watson expresses the hope that a viable, healthy, open social ecology may yet be realized, and affirms that such a project is a worthwhile undertaking. Consequently, Bookchin's social ecology only serves as a springboard for deeper discussions of technology and freedom, the nature of rationality and spirituality, and the potential sources for a radical, ecologically-oriented politics. The following excerpt gives only a sense of the book; much had to be sacrificed due to space constraints—including detailed discussions on technology and work, contrasting modern and primal notions of plenitude, and Bookchin's libertarian municipalism. Readers are urged to read the entire exposition, available from the FE Bookstore and other radical and alternative book sellers.

Steve Welzer is editor of *The New Jersey Greens Journal*.

ENDNOTES

¹Through Fredy Perlman, who was living in Detroit at that time and contributing articles occasionally to the paper, *Fifth Estate* had direct contact back to the 1968 events in Paris. See Lorraine Perlman, *Having Little, Being Much: A Chronicle of Fredy Perlman's Fifty Years* (Detroit: Black & Red, 1989).

²Peter Werbe, "History of the Fifth Estate, Part I: The Early Years," in *Fifth Estate*, Vol. 31, Number 1, Spring 1996.

³"How Deep is Deep Ecology? (Q&A: Times Change Press, 1989), and "Return of the Son of Deep Ecology: The Ethics of Permanent Crisis and the Permanent Crisis in Ethics," in *Fifth Estate*, Volume 24, Number 1 (Spring 1989), both written under the pseudonym George Bradford.

⁴Reference in David Watson (Lewis Cannon), "Earth Day? We Want a Festival of the Oppressed!" *Fifth Estate* Earth Day Special, Spring 1990.

Abbreviations for books by Murray Bookchin cited in the following essay:
APN: "A Philosophical Naturalism," in *Society and Nature*, Vol. 1, Number 2 (Sept.-Dec. 1992)
EF: *The Ecology of Freedom* (1982)
HCP: "History, Civilization, Progress: Outline for a Criticism of Modern Relativism," in *Green Perspectives* 29 (March 1994)
PSA: *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (1971)
RS: *Remaking Society: Pathways to a Green Future* (1990)
SALA: *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* (1995)
SEvsDE: "Social Ecology versus 'Deep Ecology'—A Challenge for the Ecology Movement," in *Green Perspectives* 4/5 (Summer 1987)
TES: *Toward an Ecological Society* (1980)

typical recent essay, laden with indignation, written as a corrective to what he labels "the farrago of human self-denigration that marks the present time."² In such "decadent and desperate" times as ours, hopes for a renewed movement of contestation rooted in what he thinks best in our culture have not materialized. (HCP: 12)

But that History, Civilization and Progress are now questioned cannot be entirely lamentable. While these ideological constructs might represent in some sense what is "best" in Western culture, they have also typically served as core mystifications concealing what is *worst*. The contemporary doubt haunting the idea of progress signals not only potential dangers of further dehumanization, but that the official story no longer commands the loyalties it once did, that a new vision might be possible.

In such dire times, fraught with peril and latent potential, correctives may be useful, even crucial. Nevertheless, if true to its basic intuitions, a perspective grounded in subtle notions of diversity and complementarity would also practice its ideals by maintaining a certain humility about its own intellectual niche within that vast, variegated social and historical reality both passing away and coming into being. Instead, retreating to his bunker, Bookchin continues to treat social ecology—as interpreted by him alone—as the last word on transformation to an ecological society, correspondingly failing to expand ecological discourse at a time of great change, instability and destruction.

Tragically, Bookchin's radical notion of an ecological politics grounded in social critique and the promise of liberatory transformation now seems far less than what it might have become. Still mired in the transition from a red to a green radicalism, his once complex, ambiguous ideas have fossilized into dogma. Social ecology will outlast its founder and realize its radical potential only if social ecologists can abandon his compulsions and elaborate new orders of thinking. The task of renewing social ecology—if it can be renewed—will be the work not of Bookchin but of others. It is to them that this challenge is addressed.

A "Symbiotic Rationality"

Bookchin claims to "impart rationality not only to social but also to natural history." (EF: 141), but the coherence in his notion of reason is itself unsound. Given the marvels of evolution, he says, "we cannot help but speculate about the existence of a broadly conceived *telos* and a latent subjectivity in substance itself that eventually yields mind and intellectuality." (EF: 364) But his teleology of freedom turns out to be only a variant of the ideology of bourgeois progress and human mastery, a mastery exercised by a "life-form . . . that expresses nature's greatest powers of creativity." (RS: 36, emphasis in original), which is, in fact, "nature itself rendered self-conscious." (EF: 315) His viewpoint privileges human reason as "the self-reflexive voice of nature" (EF: 365, emphasis added), rather than a part of the larger landscape of subjectivity. This logic converts his cautionary statements against hubris into subtle (and not so subtle) insinuations of it.

Bookchin warns that he does not "metaphysically oppose nature to society or society to nature" (RS: 65), but in his paradigm, evolution itself is meant to transcend the passive stagnation of "mere animality" and "the incomplete, aborted, irrational 'what-is'" in nature and society by discovering "the very objective reality that 'Na-

Beyond 1

Preface for a Fut

ture' connotes." (TMC: 62, HCP: 10)³ Adaptation, he writes, is "merely animalistic." (HCP: 5) "Unless human mentality validates its claim to 'superiority' by acquiring a better sense of meaning than it has today," says Bookchin, "like it or not, we are little more than crickets in a field, chirping to one another." (EF: 236)

Bookchin's attempts to "validate [humanity's] claim to 'superiority'" result in tautological failures, and his perspective is little more than a standard textbook idea of anthropocentric progress. By becoming human, we prove ourselves not only unique, but a higher stage in nature's growing subjectivity—if we accept circular definitions. It is quite possible to celebrate human uniqueness, mind and creativity without, zero-sum fashion, diminishing non-human nature. We are not the voice of nature. If we listen carefully, we may be lucky enough to hear a few notes, and perhaps chime in with our own peculiar croak. But a very special kind of listening is needed—or many kinds of listening. We are a small strand in time and space—a simultaneously wise and foolish insect born at noon who will not even see the planet's dusk, let alone the night. The night will have to be *dreamed*. For us, the question, "What is mind?" can only be a starting point, not a problem with an "answer." Bookchin turns an adventure into a joyless program.

"The notion that there is only one kind of reason," Bookchin rightfully argues, "is utterly false." (RS: 108) The contemporary "revolt against reason," he explains elsewhere, "rests on a highly misguided belief that only one kind of reason can exist . . . that the only alternative to our present reality is a vaporous mystical world."

(APN: 69) Bookchin considers any and all mysticism and extrarational modes of knowing "vaporous." Characteristically, he approaches a holistic understanding of reason only to succumb to reified hyper-rationality and scientism.

"Libertarian rationality," he comments, is "a symbiotic rationality . . ." This "symbiotic," prolific rationality capable of diverse ways of knowing, this participatory consciousness and complementary respect for otherness that Bookchin frequently claims to represent: what kind of rationality would it imply? "Feeling, sentiment and a moral outlook we surely need," our philosopher says. (APN: 62) But mythic thinking and ritual, meditative and other extrarational and irrational modes of consciousness are strictly *verboten*—or, should one say, *taboo*? Extrarational and intuitive modes of thought "are not strong barriers to manipulation," he avers. (RS: 109)

Bookchin fetishizes explanation, judging extrarational modes of thought worthless because, as his associate Janet Biehl puts it, they "cannot replace clearly valid and tested scientific explanations . . . In fact, they do not *explain* anything at all." Mixing myth, metaphoric thinking and science produces "not better science [but] confusion."⁶ But nothing, not even science or social ecology, explains anything defini-



Tragically, Bookchin's ecological political critique and the promise of transformation now seem far less than what it might have become.

tively. All explanations are matters of credibility and persuasion, just as all thinking is fundamentally metaphorical.⁷ That people apply different forms of knowledge inappropriately doesn't invalidate these modes. Nor does Biehl's argument recognize the degree to which science itself is imbued with irrational and magical thinking.

This doesn't mean that scientific reasoning can't help us to know or explain anything, only that there are *other* ways of knowing, and some experiences that can only be known by these alternative modes, not by analytic or even so-called dialectical rationality. Certainly Bookchin dimly recognizes this possibility when he notes the legitimacy of conventional and analytic forms of reason, provided no excessive claims are made for them. (APN: 70, 80) But he never imagines that this might also be true of metaphor and mythopoesis—the basis for poetry and art. Instead, forgetting every wise word he's written about instrumental reason and in defense of animist insight, he privileges, as he puts it in another context, "hierarchical rationality over sensuous experience."⁸

We are condemned to be modern. We can't escape the facts of our history or of living in an age dominated by instrumental rationality, even as we look for ways out of it—though there may be some naive, self-described primitivists who think otherwise. But it has become our historic responsibility to acknowledge the continuing importance of myth, at a level beyond science,

by David Watson

A unique figure in twentieth century American radicalism, Murray Bookchin was one of a small handful of individuals to raise the black flag of anarchy in the 1960s to a generation of dissidents looking for pathways to a new politics. Bookchin's utopian concerns and his exploration of the idea of a social ecology revived valuable chapters of neglected social history for many radicals.¹

Like the idea of a social ecology itself, of course, these concerns belonged to the ferment of the era, and social ecological concerns can be found in the work of many writers.² Radical ecology is made up of overlapping, complementary and contradictory strands of thought, originating both in our contemporary experience of social and ecological loss as well as from a continuous renewal of marvelous legacies stretching back into prehistory—a common heritage that continues to nourish visionaries and revolutionaries.

Bookchin's work, the product of decades, is frequently rich and always problematic. Yet it has received little systematic discussion or critique, even in radical circles. Now that he has more recently assumed the mantle of lone defender of civilization, turning contemporary ecological discussion and green politics into a kind of *kulturkampf*, an assessment of his work may be timely. His recent essays—increasingly vituperative, dismissive, pessimistic, almost paranoid—suggest the time may be overdue to ask what kind of social ecology ought to survive the passing of Bookchin.³

"Rarely have the concepts that literally define the best of Western culture—its notions of a meaningful History, a universal Civilization and the possibility of Progress—been called so radically into question as they are today," he begins one



Bookchin: Pure Social Ecology



Francisco Goya, from *los Disparates* (the Follies)

n's radical notion of
s grounded in social
omise of liberatory
seems far less than
have become.

in realizing a more organic, holistic relation to the world. A future social ecology would transcend both anti-Enlightenment reaction and Bookchin's reified Enlightenment counter-reaction, which remain only fragmented polarities within bourgeois modernity. Social ecology must discover a post-Enlightenment politics.

"We have yet to fully assess the meaning of human history," writes Bookchin in a moment of relative humility, "the paths it should have followed, and the ideas that are most appropriate in the remaking of society based on reason and ecological principles." A "crisis-ridden society like our own," he continues, "must evaluate the entire history of ideas and the alternatives opened by social history in the past." (RS: 116-17, emphasis in original) Exactly so. An evolved reason will coax into being, with a little luck, a rounded, vital synthesis of primal, archaic and modern. As Gary Snyder has remarked, "The philosopher might despise mystification, but will respect the mysteries."⁹

Progress and Other Mirages

Bookchin's one-dimensional idea of rationality informs his increasingly vituperative defense of history, civilization and progress—terms which, unless one happens to be a very serious-minded philosopher, are wildly mutable metaphors. His recent essays typically contain the obligatory challenge to what he calls "a new pessimism toward civilization as such . . . a widespread assault against the ability of reason,

science and technology to improve the world for ourselves and life generally." (RS: 121)

Of course, the problem isn't that people are questioning technology (which they are), but the massive, if dysfunctional, resignation to runaway technics, market forces and the corporate state, and in the ubiquitous sigh of oppressed and oppressor alike, that "you can't stop progress." It's sad Bookchin feels the need to watchdog such an arsenal of domination. His recent harangues against contemporary skepticism about civilization's claims lack any sensitivity to dialectical possibility, treating such doubt—to use his own formulation against him—"as fixed, precisely defined, and clearly determinable," rather than open, formed of contradictions, evolving and carrying potentially transformative negation. (APN: 63)

Despite his disclaimers, his idea of history capitulates to bourgeois and marxist notions of progress. In one place he says that "capitalism, like the nation-state, was neither an unavoidable 'necessity,' nor was it a 'precondition' for the establishment of a cooperative or socialist society." Yet in the same few pages he approves of Bakunin's argument that the state was a "necessary evil" for progress. Bakunin's "recognition that humanity developed as much through the medium of 'evil' as it did through the medium of 'virtue,' touches upon the subtle dialectic of 'civilization' itself," he argues. "Biblical precept did not curse humanity in vain; there is an ancient recognition that certain evils could not easily be avoided in humanity's ascent out of animality." (RS: 89, 84) "To be expelled from Eden," he consoles the reader, "can be regarded, as Hegel was to say, as an important condition for [Eden's] return" on a new level. (EF: 113, 63, 141)

Of course, Bookchin considers the pre-state societies of hunter-gatherers and horticulturalists to be anything but an Eden.¹⁰ Explaining the emergence of horticulture as "a 'watchful interest' nourished by grim need," he concludes that without this "advance," "society would have been mired indefinitely in a brute subsistence economy living chronically on the edge of survival. Nature . . . is normally 'stingy,' an ungiving and deceptive 'mother.' . . ." (EF: 59, 64) Consequently, he categorically dismisses the now famous thesis of Marshall Sahlins that aboriginal societies were, for the most part, "affluent" societies that enjoyed plenty because their needs were few and easily met, as not only "fashionable," but "simplistic" and "regressive."¹¹ Bookchin doesn't deny that foraging societies may have toiled significantly less than people in so-called civilized societies—from peasants to office workers—but surmises that these early societies had to "answer to very strict material imperatives" in a world "often harsh and insecure, a world ruled by natural necessity." The leisure of primal peoples could not be "free time that fosters intellectual advances beyond the magical, artistic and mythopoetic. To a large extent, the 'time' of a community on the edge of survival is

'suffering time' . . . when hunger is the all-encompassing fear . . ." (EF: 67, 58, 69, 81, 67, emphasis in original)

It would be difficult to find a passage more charged with the Hobbesian lie in its ethnocentric dismissal of the cultures of aboriginal peoples—proof of Stanley Diamond's remark that progress is "the basic apology for imperialism."¹² Of course, as Sahlins has noted, "Scarcity is the judgment decreed by our own economy . . . Having equipped the hunter with bourgeois impulses and paleolithic tools, we judge his situation hopeless in advance."¹³ In fact, nature has for the most part been not stingy but profuse, even prodigal in sharing its riches, which explains the prodigality and "laziness" of the people the Europeans encountered everywhere in their conquests. Civilizing missionaries, entrepreneurs and others may not have approved of the perceived misuse of leisure among primary peoples in less "advanced" mythopoetic activities, but they had to wear thick ideological blinders to observe that their new wards both scabbled desperately to eke out a bare existence, and were lazy and spent their afternoons lying in hammocks.

Bookchin's notion of social evolution is clearly linked to technological development and an expansion of production. According to Bookchin, science, technology, universal reason all "potentially offer the hope of a rational and emancipatory dispensation of social affairs." (SALA: 35, emphasis in original) Yet this *potentially* has been around for several thousand years, without the necessity for twentieth century "post-scarcity" technology. To think otherwise is to fall into the very technological determinism of which he accuses others. After a few thousand years of empire and state societies, and a few hundred years of industrial capitalism, the potential preconditions for freedom are just not doing their job.

Bookchin wants to socialize and rationalize bourgeois "need" the way marxists want to socialize production to escape "strict material imperatives," positing a super-abundance based on an alternative vision of mastery. Thus we read that in the future revolutionary society "the most pressing task of technology will be to produce a surfeit of goods with a minimum of toil." With Bookchin's "liberatory" technology, "Free communities would stand at the end of a cybernated assembly line with baskets to cart the goods home." (PSA: 130, 133) Instead of a redeemed relation to being and the object itself, he presents the fantasy of an industrial cornucopia.

Bookchin's scenario fails to acknowledge what may be the greatest problem for a future sane society, that the industrial bribe of technology in the service of capitalist abundance has everywhere—even where its dubious benefits have proved the most meager—tended to undermine the capacities of human beings to resist it, to choose another way, another kind of plenitude. The recognition that less could be more might come from a radical rejection of the fetishism of artifactual abundance without having to go through Bookchin's transitional period of surfeit. Transformation isn't a question of "better delivery," of much, much more of the same, but rather a new relationship to the phenomenal world—something akin to what Sahlins calls "a Zen road to affluence, departing from premises somewhat different from our own."¹⁴

The social ecologist as technocrat

Bookchin is certainly correct in stressing, "We need a clearer image of what is

meant by 'technics.'" (EF: 220). Unfortunately, his own confusion about technics is palpable. "The industrial machine seems to have taken off without the driver," he writes, but "the driver is still there." Sixty pages later we read, "A look at technics alone reveals that the car is racing at an increasing pace, with nobody in the driver's seat." (EF: 239, 302) The problem of leisure among primary peoples in less "advanced" mythopoetic activities, but they had to wear thick ideological blinders to observe that their new wards both scabbled desperately to eke out a bare existence, and were lazy and spent their afternoons lying in hammocks.

Objecting to the contemporary "grim fatalism" about technology (EF: 220-3), Bookchin always insists on its promise. From the beginning, his utopianism has been decidedly rooted in the faith that the new technics created by modern industrial capitalism have brought about preconditions, if not necessarily the actual conditions, for a rational, free society. To be sure, he has also written, sometimes eloquently, about the pathological destructiveness of modern technological arrangements. But if he believes that some forms (e.g., nuclear power, but this only after promoting it) are inherently evil, for the most part he stresses that "[t]echnology as such" is not the problem but rather more fundamental "economic factors." (SALA: 28)

Intriguingly, just when Lewis Mumford was reaching his gloomiest conclusions about modern technology, Bookchin appeared as its febrile enthusiast.¹⁵ While more recently Bookchin has tempered his enthusiasm for technological development, a celebration and defense of technological progress continue to permeate his work. "For the first time in the long succession of centuries," he enthuses, "this century—and this one alone—has elevated mankind to an entirely new level of technological achievement and to an entirely new level of the human experience." (PSA: 10)

See Beyond Bookchin next page



Beyond Bookchin

continued from page 17

"Utopia . . . once a mere dream in the preindustrial world, increasingly became a possibility with the development of modern technology," "a development that opens the possibility of the transcendence of the domain of necessity." (TES: 28, 270) Only the "technical limits of past eras" prevented utopia. (RS: 121) Abundance, "indeed luxury, will be available to all to enjoy because technological development will have removed the economic basis for scarcity and coercion." (EF: 330-31).

Bookchin's idea of progress proves almost indistinguishable from a Khrushchevite threat to out-do capitalism. "Bourgeois society," he insists, "if it achieved nothing else, revolutionized the means of production on a scale unprecedented in history. This technological revolution, culminating in cybernation, has created the objective quantitative basis for a world without class rule, exploitation, toil or material want." "It is easy to foresee a time, by no means remote, when a rationally organized economy could automatically manufacture small 'packaged' factories without human labor . . . Machines would make and repair most of the machines required to maintain such a highly industrialized economy." (PSA:) Only "bourgeois control of technology" prevents its liberatory potential from being realized. With the new technology, "[t]he means now exist for the development of the rounded man, the total man . . ." (PSA: 33-4, 105, 17).

According to Bookchin, capitalism misuses modern technology. "Every warped society," he says, "follows the dialectic of its own pathology of domination, *irrespective of the scale of its techniques.*" (EF: 241, emphasis added) "Capitalist social and economic relations 'blatantly determine *how* technology will be used.'" (SALA: 29, emphasis in original) To those who recognize the fallacy that technology is a neutral tool to be used or abused by the one who wields it, Bookchin offers a disclaimer: because technology is shaped by social forces, our concepts about it "are never socially neutral." (EF: 226) This statement is simply an evasion; the idea that technology is not neutral logically implies not only that our concepts shape and determine technology, but that the technological relations and requirements imposed by our technology also shape our concepts and social relations. Technological arrangements themselves generate social change and shape human action, bringing about imperatives unanticipated by their creators. Technological means come with their own repertoire of ends.

The ecological crisis is a dramatic example of this phenomenon. No one but a marxist of the crudest variety could believe that technological dysfunction and disaster are the results only of corporate capitalist greed. As Bookchin himself has noted about oil spills, "even the sturdiest ships have a way of being buffeted by storms, drifting off course, foundering on reefs in treacherous waters, and sinking."¹⁶ Not only capitalist grow-or-die economic choices, but a complex petrochemical grid itself makes disasters inevitable.

"We cannot avoid the use of conventional reason, present-day modes of science, and modern technology," Bookchin asserts (though he doesn't explain why we must put up with "present-day modes of science" and technics). "But we can establish new contexts in which these modes . . . have their proper place . . ." (EF: 240, emphasis in original) Present-day modes

of science and technology apparently never establish contexts; "the ecological impact of human reason, science, and technology depends enormously on the type of society in which these forces are shaped and employed."¹⁷ Because he assumes that the type of society in which technologies emerge determines their impact, Bookchin doesn't consider the possibility that a mass technological society might itself come to constitute a "type." "Capitalism—not technology, reason or science as such—produced an economy that was systematically anti-ecological."¹⁸

A New Definition of Capital

Here, too, Bookchin's error clearly resides in his marxism. For Marx, the workers become appendages of the machine because the machines and labor process are owned and controlled by the capitalists. The former confront the material products of their labor—machines and industrial apparatus as well as commodities—as an "alien power" because it all "belongs to some other man than the worker."¹⁹ This schema does not take into account the life processes involved as cultural and epistemological contexts in their own right. Alienation is not limited to a problem of who owns or who directs mass technics. Commenting on Marx's passage, Langdon Winner argues that the governance imposed by this "other man" is not decisive; "the steering is inherent in the functioning of socially organized technology itself"—which is to say that the owners and bosses must steer at the controls their technology provides. As the monster says to Doctor Frankenstein, "You are my creator, but I am your master."²⁰

Technology socializes those who operate it because mass industrial technics require that they operate within it. While people may think of the vast webs of instrumental and economic relations as simple tools to be either used properly or abused, one does not simply apply an Archimidean lever to a global petrochemical grid, or a communications-informatics grid. We are increasingly enclosed in them, functioning as cogs within them.

Bookchin dramatically reveals himself to be an acolyte of the technological mystique when he argues for advanced technology to protect nature from itself—for example, from "ice ages, land desiccation, or cosmic collisions with asteroids." NASA will apparently be turned into a municipalist organization—and with no division of labor, either. "If there is any truth to the theory that the great Mesozoic reptiles were extinguished by climatic changes that presumably followed the collision of an asteroid with the earth," he explains, "the survival of existing mam-

mals might well be just as precarious in the face of an equally meaningless natural catastrophe unless there is a conscious, ecologically-oriented life-form that has the technological means to rescue them." (RS: 38)

Of course, it probably won't be a "meaningless natural catastrophe" that extinguishes mammal life, but a series of "meaningful" catastrophes set off by the very megatechnic civilization Bookchin portrays as nature's only hope. His projection is a Rube Goldberg nightmare filled with lurid delusions of grandeur and scientific hubris. Not only would we need a massive missile system (reminiscent of Ronald Reagan's Star Wars fantasy) to deflect asteroids, but a complex technics advanced enough to deflect entirely unimagined threats—suggesting, among other things, a genetic engineering arsenal of colossal proportions. Bookchin fails to notice that our defense systems, antibodies and fail-safe backups will likely do us in long before the threats arrive.

Equally significant is his comment that it would hardly be anthropocentric, except under exploitive capitalist conditions, of course, "to turn the Canadian barrens—a realm that is still suspended ecologically between the highly destructive glacial world of the ice ages and the richly variegated, life-sustaining world of temperate forest zones—into an area supporting a rich variety of biota." He continues, "I frankly doubt that a case can be made against a very *prudent, nonexploitive, and ecologically guided* enterprise of this kind . . . unless we put blinkers on our eyes that narrow our vision to an utterly dogmatic and passive-receptive 'nature-oriented' outlook."²¹ Presumably, this is what he means when he postulates a "more advanced interface with nature" (EF: 39) and "a new, eminently ecological function: the need to create more fecund gardens than Eden itself." (EF: 303) One swoons imagining the Eden Bookchin might make of the Canadian barrens.

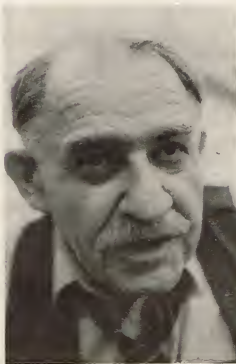
"It may well be," notes Bookchin, "that we still do not understand what capitalism really is." (RS: 128) Indeed, Bookchin's dichotomy between technics and corporate and state institutions, of the need to choose between a concept of technological society or capitalism, is specious; the matrix of social relations is more complex than he suggests. To speak of technological society is in fact to refer to the *technics generated within capitalism*, which in turn generate new forms of capital. The notion of a distinct realm of social relations that determines this technology is not only ahistorical and undialectical, it reflects a kind of simplistic base/superstructure schema.

We need a larger definition of capitalism that encompasses not only market relations and the power of bourgeois and bureaucratic elites but the very structure and content of mass technics, reductive rationality and the universe they establish: the social imaginaries of progress, growth, and efficiency; the growing power of the state; and the materialization, objectification and quantification of nature, culture and human personality. Only then can we see that commodification, and the objectification of nature and human beings, are moments in the same social process. Market capitalism has been everywhere the vehicle for a mass megatechnic civilization—the nuclear-cybernetic-petrochemical-communications-commodity grid being developed globally. But technization is the armature of the economic-instrumental culture now extinguishing vast skeins in the fabric of life, and transforming the planet into an enormous megalopolis, with its glittering high tech havens and wasted, contaminated sacrifice zones. It makes no sense to layer the various elements of this process in a mechanistic hierarchy of first cause and secondary effects. There is no simple or single etiology to this plague, but a synergy of vectors.

For a writer whose ideas are based on a notion of potentiality, Bookchin's static idea of technology fails dismally to see technics in their full development—not only the dubious potentiality of their evolution into a liberatory society, but other potentialities that do not fit his schema. We do not yet fully know the real meaning of industrialism; it is still being played out in our very being, somatically and genetically, and in the myriad ripples and feedback loops now traveling through both human societies and the natural world. In Bookchin's simplistic view of technology, "free municipalities" will one day stand with shopping bags at the end of their cornucopic assembly line, picking and choosing only the technics and products they rationally desire, while somehow avoiding the accompanying "accidents," side effects and toxic residues.

Yet for those who have the courage to look clearly at life today, the claims of mass technics are already dramatically eroded by decades, even centuries, of catastrophe, imperial plunder and war, the unprecedented dislocation of human communities and the ongoing eclipse of the human spirit. A new perspective now haunts the industrial capitalist necropolis. As inchoate and embryonic as it may now be, this "epistemological luddism," as Winner has called it, does not propose "a solution in itself but . . . a method of inquiry" that, instead of focusing on obfuscatory notions of "use" and "misuse," insists that the *entire structure* of the technological order be the subject of its critical inquiry.²² Bookchin's great theoretical and personal tragedy was to become this sensibility's vociferous opponent, misrepresenting and conflating its inevitable errors and excesses with its genuine insights and wisdom, and positing his regressive marxian ideology—incapable even in its own time of confronting the twentieth century technological phenomenon—as an ostensibly more radical alternative.

We have no choice but to face the legacy that modernity has given us. We cannot evade the responsibility to think critically and rationally about the crisis we face. *But reason is whole.* A future social ecology, worthy of its desire for redemption and renewal, would recognize that it is not in scientific rationality and technological mastery but in other domains—starting from an *authentically* dialectical understanding that reorients life around perennial, classic and aboriginal manifestations



Murray Bookchin (Courtesy NSP)

With Bookchin's "liberatory" technology, "Free communities would stand at the end of a cybernated assembly line with baskets to cart the goods home." Instead of a redeemed relation to being and the object itself, he presents the fantasy of an industrial cornucopia.

of wisdom we have yet to address fully—where firm ground, if any, must be found. Revolution will be a kind of return.

Bookchin's "unbridgeable chasm"

Despite its radical intent and its virtues, Bookchin's work was already flawed early on, only to become increasingly unsound and inadequate in its "maturity." His most recent writings are consonant with the direction of his work and reflective of its underlying failings. This is particularly true of *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm*.

This book is little more than a tirade—sporadically insightful, but mostly manipulative, filled with misrepresentation, and seething with rancor. The "unbridgeable chasm" follows a familiar pattern: like Bookchin's denunciation of deep ecology, it is a bipolar *gottterdammerung* between social ecology and its enemies on which the fate of the cosmos depends. It follows that those whom Bookchin criticizes are never well-intentioned people with erroneous ideas; they are *invariably* misanthropic eco-brutes, reactionary nihilist yuppies, dishonest and fashionable postmodern obscurantists, opportunist academics and careerists, self-indulgent new age charlatans, and now—as I and some others (with whom I have very little in common) are characterized in this latest work—accomplices of "neo-Heideggerian reaction" (read: proto-fascists) and "lifestyle anarchists."

Bookchin's notion of "lifestyle anarchism" is a freakish caricature. He blames this monster for "supplanting social action and revolutionary politics," arguing that because a "growing 'inwardness' and narcissism of the yuppie generation have left their mark upon many avowed radicals . . . what passes for anarchism in America and increasingly in Europe is little more than an introspective personalism that denigrates responsible social commitment, an encounter group variously renamed a 'collective' or an 'affinity group'; a state of mind that arrogantly derides structure, organization, and public involvement; and a playground for juvenile antics." (SALA: 9-10)

Bookchin is hardly the first to point out the problems of structurelessness and irresponsibility, but here he tars young anarchists (most of them are probably in their twenties and thirties) as cynical in an age when so many other young people are trying to work their way into capital's hierarchy. To attack the personalism, eccentricities and excesses of many anarchists today while ignoring the positive work this small milieu has carried out in groups like Food Not Bombs, Seeds of Peace, Earth First!, various support groups for native peoples, collectives like 404 in Detroit (which generated a countercultural scene and also fed homeless people and helped organize demonstrations over numerous important issues), is nothing less than reprehensible.

There is undeniably a tiny nihilistic milieu that conforms to some of Bookchin's descriptions of lifestyle anarchism. But the group of writers he criticizes in *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism*—L. Susan Brown, Hakim Bey, John Zerzan and me—not only do not represent a single current but have almost nothing in common, except perhaps the fact that Bookchin has various reasons, known only to him, for disliking each of them.²³ It would be one thing to raise objections to each writer's work, but this is a case of festering acrimony. Bookchin fabricates a coherent political tendency, a kind of conspiracy, in order to purge all his enemies in a single round-up.

Bookchin's arguments about technology

in SALA reiterate earlier polemics and are addressed at length in my book.²⁴ One aspect, however, is worth note here. Bookchin takes pains to argue that Lewis Mumford "was not an antitechnologist . . . nor was he in any sense of the word a mystic who would have found . . . anticivilizational primitivism to his taste. On this score, I can speak from direct personal knowledge of Mumford's views, when we conversed at some length as participants in a conference at the University of Pennsylvania around 1972." (SALA: 31) Of course, no one has ever claimed that Mumford was an "antitechnologist" or primitivist, or denied that he saw technics as "potentially a vehicle of rational human purposes."²⁵ Bookchin was surely fortunate to spend a few minutes chatting with Mumford; but he might have picked up something more recent than *Technics and Civilization*, written in the early 1930s, to evaluate Mumford's views.

Though Bookchin argues that Mumford's later works do not "reveal any evidence that he relented" in his optimism toward technology and rejection of primitivism (SALA: 32), as *The Pentagon of Power* so forcefully reveals, Mumford clearly evinced an increasing ambivalence about technology's promise, and grave doubts about the realization of its rational potential. Even in 1959, he expressed regret about his earlier naive hopes about technology; in the 1963 edition of *Technics and Civilization* he wrote that contemporary reviewers had "properly characterized" the book's "hopeful character," but he now downplayed this aspect, congratulating himself instead for having detected "the regressive possibilities of many of our most hopeful technical advances."²⁶

In the 1920s Mumford believed that technological development was linked to human progress, but by the 1930s his view was tempered with the insistence that new values and institutions were required to redirect technology toward rational choices—a perspective parallel to Bookchin's view today. After the Second World War Mumford turned more deeply pessimistic, becoming "convinced that technology and science were irrational at their core . . . On occasion he predicted that industrial society was as fatally doomed as Roman society in the third century had been," as two Mumford scholars have noted.²⁷

Far from dismissing it as parochial and limited compared to the unfolding rational potentiality to come, Mumford also pointedly defended the "archaic moral culture" and the "basic communism" of the neolithic society of rural villages: "though it still maintained many effete, irrational customs, it also kept close to the ultimate realities of life, human and divine: birth and death, sex and love, family devotion and mutual aid, sacrifice and transcendence, human pride and cosmic awe. Even the lowliest tribes," he continues, "retained a sense of their own importance and value as conscious beings, participating in a social scheme that did not depend for its significance on their tools and their bodily



Francisco Goya, *Modo de Volar (Way of Flying), Los Disparates*

Despite its virtues, Bookchin's work was already flawed early on, only to become increasingly unsound and inadequate in its "maturity." This is particularly true of his recent work—sporadically insightful, but mostly manipulative, filled with misrepresentation, and seething with rancor.

comforts. This cultural reservoir retained by its very backwardness some of the essential organic components that megatechnics, concerned only with removing all limitations on productivity and power, neglected or contemptuously extirpated."²⁸

Lewis Mumford's life spanned the age of the ancient megamachine's full reemergence in modern form. His deepening critique of technology and rejection of a technologically premised utopia, his defense of archaic societies and of the extrarational, irreducibly spiritual side of the human personality, are not only kindred to a reasoned primitivism but signposts suggesting the path to a future social ecology. Though he may not have completely thought through the processes and period he long studied, he evolved along with them—evidenced by his unequivocal call for "mechanical simplification and human amplification."²⁹ A century after his birth, and twenty-five years after his most visionary work, we will have to make up our own minds about the relationship between technology's potential benefits and the inherent defects that have effaced them—precisely the theoretical and practical task of a critical ludite politics.

I believe that people have the capacity, in fact the duty, to make rational and ethical choices about technics, but I have come to believe that an emergent technological system has become a powerful force within culture, a repository of meaning, a fundamental problem. If this makes me a "Heideggerian reactionary," so be it. I no longer put my hand over my heart when I hear History, Civilization and Progress invoked, or Science, Medicine and Technology, or even Theory, for that matter. I am also generally sympathetic to the claims of those modes of thinking, sensibilities and cultures that have been bulldozed on our way to the Future. Like a growing number of people today, little by little I have come to look on the "poetry of the past" with different eyes.

Hence my tentatively elaborated project

of redeeming our idea of aboriginal and tribal societies from civilization's Hobbesian mystique, a perspective that has with time broadened to a new appreciation of aspects of other civilizations (in the plural)—archaic and vernacular societies, the myriad *multiverses* now being extinguished by a monolithic global work machine. At one time I might have described this sensibility not only as a kind of neoprimitivism but as *social ecology*. Bookchin, unfortunately, has reified the social ecology idea into a program allowing no difference, no unanswered questions, no doubt. Ignoring distinctions between a reasoned primitivism and more simplistic varieties, he brands the renewed respect for aboriginal wisdom and lifeways a "prelapsarian mentality," only "an edenic glorification of prehistory and the desire to somehow return to its putative innocence" (SALA: 26, 36)—a familiar accusation is commonly leveled at anyone who questions modern civilization's superiority or affirms early modes of life.³⁰

Social ecology and its discontents

The contemporary crisis requires a mixture of common and uncommon sense that can show us collectively how to draw on our whole experience—from our primordial animist kinship with the phenomenal world, to the wisdom bequeathed to us by archaic civilizations, to modern traditions of revolution, freedom and return that have their deepest roots in the first unrecorded revolts against the earliest states. We must be both unsentimental and generous, finding ways to enhance diversity, communal responsibility and autonomy in whatever context we find ourselves. There can be no single programmatic way to do this, only a multiplicity of attempts, institutions and communities made by people in the process of rediscovering themselves.

Bookchin's latest polemics, following his work as a whole, reveal a deep desire for social transformation and a growing disappointment that radicals have so far

See *Beyond Bookchin* next page

Beyond Bookchin

continued from page 19

failed to create viable alternatives to the ruling exterminist system. I share his desire, his disappointment and his apprehensions. The present period of massive decomposition and destruction is depressing and terrifying. The thunder on the horizon has steadily grown as this century approaches its end; we cannot know at what thresholds we stand, what catastrophes await.

I agree with Bookchin that an authentically radical social ecology beyond the "bare bones" of the scientific discipline (TES, 67), an ecological *sensibility* and ethical perspective that discerns the connections between natural and social history, between social crisis and ecological crisis, is essential in halting humanity's present inertia toward social and ecological apocalypse. I share his hunger for a social movement that can become the seed of the new society within the shell of the old, for a redemption of desire and imagination, his insistence on the possibility of a different kind of organic reason.

"We desperately need coherence," he writes. "I do not mean dogma. I mean a real *structure* of ideas that places philosophy, anthropology, history, ethics, a new rationality, and utopian visions in the service of freedom . . ." Then he goes on, not to declare that such a structure will be developed collectively by human beings confronting our unique and precarious destiny, but that he is actually going to build it "in the pages that follow." The state of coherence, *c'est moi*.

Bookchin's whole Faustian project of dialectical coherence could be said to share the fate of History, Civilization and Progress: in constructing and defending a system (and in the marxist sense, a tendency) based on his personal intuitions and insights, he could not avoid resorting to the mortar of his folly and idiosyncrasy, and subsequently sacrificed both a genuine, individual, *partial* coherence (in the sense of wholeness or integrity), and the principle of diversity, to polemical expediency. Bookchin has therefore not done justice to the important values and insights in his own work, values that would have survived better had he been less "coherent" and more "intuitive," humble, and skeptical. After all, it is possible to be wrong about some things while being *right* about the main things. In contrast, system-building is a kind of Tower of Babel—arrogant, elaborate and abstract—that must simply collapse under its own weight. Bookchin's social ecology has now reached such a state of collapse . . .

Endnotes

¹Bookchin's work was seriously limited from the very beginning. Nevertheless, as in the case of Noam Chomsky's famous 1967 essay, "Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship" (in *American Power and the New Mandarins* [New York: Pantheon/Random House, 1969]), his early writings introduced many young radicals, including this writer, to anarchist ideas and a radical critique of Leninism.

²Lewis Mumford, for example, proposed a kind of a social ecology and gave early evidence of a green, bioregional, municipalist outlook as early as the 1930s. Numerous contemporary radical and utopian writers suggest the general idea of a "social ecology"—even if Bookchin tended to codify the term.

³Telling examples of this tendency can be found in his "Comments on the International Social Ecology Network Gathering and the 'Deep Social Ecology' of John Clark" (September 1995, probably available through his newsletter *Green Perspectives*); the October 1995 (Number 33) issue of the newsletter, especially "Theses on Social Ecology in a Period of Reaction"; and his recent book *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An*



"We desperately need coherence," he writes. "a real structure of ideas that places philosophy, anthropology, history, ethics, a new rationality, and utopian visions in the service of freedom." Then he goes on, not to declare that such a structure will be developed collectively by human beings confronting our unique and precarious destiny, but that he is actually going to build it "in the pages that follow." The state of coherence, c'est moi.

Unbridgeable Chasm (Edinburgh and San Francisco: AK Press, 1995) cited in the text from here forward as SALA.

⁴Murray Bookchin, "History, Civilization, Progress: Outline for a Criticism of Modern Relativism," in *Green Perspectives* 29 (March 1994), p. 1 (cited in the text from here forward as HCP). See also Murray Bookchin, *Reinventing Society: Pathways to a Green Future* (Boston: South End Press, 1990) p. 13 (cited in the text from here forward as RS).

⁵Murray Bookchin, "A Philosophical Naturalism," *Nature and Society* 2, p. 77 (cited in the text from here forward as APN).

⁶Janet Biehl, *Rethinking Ecofeminist Politics* (Boston: South End Press, 1991), p. 92, emphasis in original.

⁷As Joseph Weizenbaum puts it, "[S]cientific demonstrations, even mathematical proofs, are fundamentally acts of persuasion . . . Scientific statements can never be certain; they can only be credible." And credibility has psychological, not ultimate objective meaning—implying belief based on intuition. Weizenbaum argues that our dependence on language makes not only the terms of theoretical utterances, but words in general, metaphoric. Because a theory "is first of all a text, hence a concatenation of the symbols of some alphabet . . . [and] a symbolic construction in a

deeper sense as well," its symbols "grope for their denotation in the real world or else cease to be symbolic." Because they can only approach denotation, "the symbolic terms of a theory can never be finally founded in reality." See *Computer Power and Human Reason* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1978), pp. 15-16.

⁸Murray Bookchin, *Toward an Ecological Society* (Montreal-Buffalo: Black Rose Books, 1980), p. 63 (cited in the text from here forward as TES).

⁹Gary Snyder, *The Practice of the Wild* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990) p. 58.

¹⁰Lewis Mumford, on the other hand, described them as existing in conditions "more or less corresponding to Hesiod's Golden Age." See *Technics and Human Development: The Myth of the Machine Volume One* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1968), p. 181.

¹¹See Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1972).

¹²Stanley Diamond, *In Search of the Primitive* (1974; New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1981) p.

38.

¹³Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, p. 4. Sahlins might reply to Bookchin, "When Condorcet attributed the hunter's unprogressive condition to want of 'the leisure in which he can indulge in thought and enrich his understanding with new combinations of ideas,' he also recognized that the economy was a 'necessary cycle of extreme activity and total idleness.' Apparently what the hunter needed was the assured leisure of an aristocratic philosopher." (pp. 35-6)

¹⁴Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics*, p. 2.

¹⁵Mumford's *The Pentagon of Power* and Bookchin's *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* both appeared in 1970-71.

¹⁶Murray Bookchin, "Death of a Small Planet," *The Progressive*, August 1989.

¹⁷Murray Bookchin et al., *Defending the Earth: A Dialogue Between Murray Bookchin and Dave Foreman*, edited and with an introduction by Steve Chase (Boston: South End Press, 1991), p. 32.

¹⁸Murray Bookchin, "When the Earth comes first, people and nature suffer," *The Guardian*, August 3, 1988.

¹⁹Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974), p. 70, emphasis in original.

²⁰Langdon Winner, *Autonomous Technology: Technics-out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), pp. 36-40; *Frankenstein* quoted by Winner, p. 311.

²¹Murray Bookchin, "Recovering Evolution: A Reply to Eckersley and Fox," in *Nature and Society* 2 (Sept-Dec. 1992), p. 170, emphasis on original.

²²Winner, *Autonomous Technology*, pp. 325-35, 226.

²³It's particularly absurd to lump my work with John Zerzan's; there is probably no person on planet Earth who has given Zerzan more consistent argument than I have.

Bookchin, of course, sees only likeness where years of disagreement have elaborated sharp differences (all "primitivists," like all cows in this universe, are one color).

²⁴Bookchin briefly quotes two *Fifth Estate* articles I wrote as examples of antitechnological and neoprimitivist "lifestyle anarchism" to denounce me for opposing "technology as such . . . a facile body of notions [which] comfortably bypasses the capitalist relations that blatantly determine how technology will be used." (SALA: 28-9, emphasis in original)

Of course, the essay does nothing of the sort; Bookchin apparently hopes his readers haven't seen my work, which contains long passages discussing the complex relations between mass technics and economic relations. He resorts to his threadbare argument that capitalism carried out massive destruction of ecosystems with relatively simple technology before industrialism. Modern technology and machines, he says, "were created long after capitalism gained ascendancy." (SALA: 35) Here Bookchin doesn't even pay close attention to the fragments he

quotes, for example my comment that mass technics—"a product of earlier forms and archaic hierarchies—have now outgrown the conditions that engendered them." (SALA 28-9) See "Revolution Against the Megamachine: Stopping the Industrial Hydra" (*Fifth Estate*, Winter 1990), and "Civilization in Bulk: Empire and Ecological Destruction" (*Fifth Estate*, Spring 1991), both written under the pseudonym George Bradford.

²⁵Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*, p. 301, quoted by Bookchin (SALA: 31). On this same page Mumford writes, "As the machine tended toward the pole of regularity and complete automatism, it became severed, finally from the umbilical cord that bound it to the bodies of men and women; it became an absolute. That was the danger Samuel Butler jestingly prophesied in *Erewhon*, the danger that the human being might become a means whereby the machine perpetuated itself and extended its domination."

Mumford warns that a total rejection of the machine could lead to the "sterile absolute of the organic: the raw primitive." Bookchin would like to believe that asking how technics might be reunited to this "umbilical cord" will make one a raw primitivist. But Mumford was willing to raise the question of autonomous technology in the 1930s, and to speak in terms that might be labeled, in some sense, primitivist.

Those who read the prologue to Mumford's more recent *Technics and Human Development*, as even Bookchin recommends, will find an attempt to redeem technics from modern technology, and *human personhood* from technics. It is fair to call it a protest against the machine; what is uniquely human, he argued, is not tool-making but the "capacity to combine a wide variety of animal propensities into an emergent cultural identity: a human personality." "At its point of origin," he writes, "technics was related to the whole nature of man . . . thus technics, at the beginning, was broadly life-centered, not work-centered or power-centered. As in any other ecological complex, varied human interests and purposes, different organic needs, restrained the overgrowth of any single component."

When Mumford says that "technics supported and enlarged the capacities for human expression," he is not talking about mass technics, but an organic technics. (p. 9) Perhaps Bookchin thinks the critique of technology is a rejection of technics "as such," but that simplistic dichotomy has nothing to do with any serious work on this subject.

²⁶Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*, unpaginated introduction to the 1963 Harbinger edition; see also Lewis Mumford, "An Appraisal of Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization* (1934)," *Daedalus* 88 (Summer, 1959).

²⁷Thomas P. and Agatha C. Hughes, "General Introduction: Mumford's Modern World," in *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 5-6.

²⁸Mumford, *Ibid.*, p. 351.

²⁹Mumford, *The Pentagon of Power*, p. 286.

³⁰This is where he adds, "Anyone who advises us to significantly . . . reduce our technology is also advising us, in all logic, to go back to the 'stone age' . . ." Like the "technology as such" line, this is how he fashions an argument to suit his purposes, exploring the logic and implications of a critique of technics by blurring those who advocate significant change with those who want "drastic" change, and conflating critical luddite views with a handful of ironists and the tiny number of feckless souls who literally believe such a thing possible.

Somehow, "in all logic," it doesn't seem obvious that a significant, or even "drastic" reduction of late twentieth century technology, means the digging stick and bow and arrow, though in this day and age Bookchin may find some nail who thinks it does. Certainly, we cannot make difficult social and ethical decisions vanish by mechanistically imposing a theoretical rejection of mass technics on them. The process of transformation must come from people themselves, emerging from the crisis not only theoretically but practically.

Beyond Bookchin 2
Note to our readers: watch for further discussion on Bookchin's work and social ecology in our next issue, including John Clark's review of Bookchin's latest book, *Reenchanting Humanity*.

"Life-style" vs. "Social" Anarchism An Historical Note on the Correct Thoughts of Chairman Bookchin

by Peter Sabatini

Murray Bookchin must be getting cranky in his old age. Upon reading his latest broadside, *Social Anarchism Or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm*, I was rudely smacked in the face by déjà vu. Evidently Bookchin is beating a dead horse, trying to breathe life back into an old controversy within the anarchist movement that dates back a century.

It's beyond me why we need to rehash this again. But Bookchin thinks that anarchism is at a "turning point." In the face of a resurgent right wing, and the death of "communism" in Eastern Europe, the time is ripe for the spread of anarchism. Yet something prevents this from happening. And Bookchin is here to tell us what part of the problem is.

He begins his essay citing the critical tension that has always existed within anarchism, between the individual and the community. The primary emphasis of both these elements within anarchism is a core principle of the doctrine, and something which sets it apart from liberalism and socialism. (In liberalism, the individual is everything and the community nothing [or else "community" is small-town authoritarianism and/or middle class "private" suburban tract enclaves of rampant consumerism where neighbors are total strangers]. For socialism, the individual is relegated to the bourgeois slag heap until after the revolution, and community is the almighty mass-class of proletarian workers too stupid to think for themselves, hence guided by the benevolent "dictatorship" of the advanced class.)

Having read enough anarchism to recognize the presence of this duality (or what one writer has called "communal individuality"), I was immediately engaged by Bookchin's mention of it, and looked forward to his take on the matter, given his formidable skills of theoretical analysis. Instead, what we get is a discussion that quickly degenerates into a diatribe against individualist anarchism. Bookchin sets up a Hobson's choice. Anarchists must choose communist over individualist anarchy (rephrased in current terminology as "social" anarchism v. "lifestyle" [anti-social?] anarchism) or else risk irrelevance.

In Bookchin's view, the individualist anarchism of Max Stirner, Benjamin Tucker, et al., gave rise to all sorts of self-indulgent, apolitical, and pernicious behavior around the turn of the 19th century, such as bohemianism and propaganda by the deed terrorism. And all this amounted to little good for the anarchist movement. But (thankfully) individualist anarchy flourished (compared to the rousing success of communist anarchism), and subsequently fell by the wayside. But now, during the 1990s, given our "reactionary social context," individualist lifestyle anarchism has made a comeback, and today's version encourages a similar sort of do-nothing Yuppie consumerist psychobabble-indulgent banal existence, not



—Illustration: Richard Mock

to mention New Age mysticism and primitivism, which Bookchin finds highly repellent. This, in turn, only supplants real (social) anarchism, drains off the movement's activism, and reduces anarchism to liberalism. Included on Bookchin's shit list as representative of this individualist regression are writers such as Hakim Bey and John Zerzan, and the periodicals *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* and *Fifth Estate*.

Individualists & Communists

Given Bookchin's thesis, it would appear we could all benefit from a review of the conflict that arose between individualist and communist anarchy a century ago. So here is that background. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the first to use the word "anarchist" to designate a political doctrine, is the fountainhead of both individualist and communist anarchism. (The same might be said of William Godwin, who articulated all the main principles of anarchism a half century before Proudhon. However, when Godwin wrote, there was no organized anarchist movement. Proudhon witnessed the socialist movement in formation, with anarchism

as a part. Accordingly, Proudhon's writings reflected this ongoing worker mobilization.)

With Proudhon, anarchism shifted from theory to practice. And this meant the concrete realization of anarchy's main tendencies. On the one hand, from the individualism of Proudhon, one can jump to Stirner and Tucker (as major steps that ignore other contributors). On the other hand, the communist aspect leads to Bakunin and Kropotkin (again ignoring other significant contributors).

Proudhon's mutualist anarchy was geared to the socio-economic realities of mid-to late 19th century France. The French economy was small-scale and decentralized, when compared to England and Germany, and remained that way for a longer period of time (until the early 20th century).¹ Consequently, Proudhon's mutualism was more relevant to French peasants, artisans, farmers, and the fewer numbers of industrial workers. Conversely, mutualism had less of a following in more industrialized England and Germany. But then came Bakunin, who revised certain aspects of Proudhon's mutualist anarchy and derived "collectivism" (what

Bakunin sometimes called anarchism). Bakunin took account of the growing worker movement, unionism, and relentless industrialization, and incorporated these widening developments into his anarchism.

Bakunin was much more the revolutionary than Proudhon ever was. From Bakunin's later vantage point, the concrete indications of spiraling conflict and worker militancy pointed in that direction. Collectivist anarchism thus had greater relevancy for the international industrial proletariat than mutualism did.

Yet at base, collectivist anarchism wasn't that much different from mutualism. The core principles of both remained the same. What differed were some secondary principles regarding tactics and economics, e.g., the gradualist mutualism scheme of family farms and artisan economics shifted to the urban realities of large industrial operations and a revolutionary overthrow. Hence it may be observed that anarchy possesses a unique plasticity, mutability, or protean character, whereby secondary components of the doctrine get modified in accordance with situational demand.

Leery of Unionism

When Bakunin died in 1876, the socialist movement and union activism were stagnant.² And it was around this time that anarchists derived anarcho-communism. Kropotkin, of course, is the best known advocate of communist anarchy, but he didn't originate the revised doctrine (former Bakunin associates Errico Malatesta, Carlo Cafiero, Emilio Covelli, and the Jura Federation in Switzerland were ahead of Kropotkin). Anarcho-communism was no great leap beyond collectivism, only further modification of secondary ideas in response to new circumstances. For example, functioning at a time when unionism was staid, anarcho-communists became leery of unionism and resolved to carry on the fight without reliance upon this form of organization.

Likewise, anarcho-communists (again, Malatesta and company) devised "propaganda by the deed" to incite insurrection at the local level, that they believed would, in turn, lead to a wider uprising. Propaganda by the deed did not demand large organization, leadership, or a chain of command. In any case, by the end of the 19th century, anarcho-communism had become the dominant theoretical strain within the anarchist movement, to the degree that it was made up of proletarian or industrial workers.

With individualist anarchism, there was never the same direct linkage that Bakunin and Kropotkin had vis-à-vis the workers movement. These two anarchists defined anarchism primarily in relation to the working class (as did Marx for that matter). Stirner and Tucker, on the other hand, wrote for different populations. By the same token, Proudhon and Godwin weren't chiefly appealing to industrial workers. And this, as indicated, was on account of time and place. Bakunin and Kropotkin were exiles from Russia, who lived most of their adult lives

Continued on page 22

"Bookchin is beating a dead horse, trying to breathe life back into an old controversy within the anarchist movement that dates back a century."

Correct Thoughts of Chairman Bookchin

Continued from page 21

in western Europe. Conversely, Godwin had no anarchist movement to reflect on. Proudhon had mainly the French context to contemplate. Stirner remained in Germany, and Tucker lived in the USA.

Proudhon had envisioned societal transformation via smaller social units (mutualism). Individualist anarchism followed along that same track. Just as anarcho-communism had eschewed unionism, individualist anarchism took seriously the tendency of large-scale organizations to become centralized, leadership-dominated, and riddled with authority. Political action was conceived as a personal response guided by reason, as opposed to some sort of materialistic class or group influence that Bakunin and Kropotkin were partial to.

Given what Bookchin says about individualist anarchy, one might think that Stirner never advocated political activism, only that we should sit around all day and



If middle class respectability is what you're after with anarchism (e.g., get the middle class to like anarchists and maybe they'll vote them into office, à la social democracy), then you might as well pack it up and go home.

ruminate about change (hence the origin of the lackadaisical bohemian lifestyle). But Stirner never said "do nothing." The first step towards liberation was the overthrow of the mental hierarchy that exists in your brain. Stirner: "State, emperor, church, God, morality, order, are such thoughts or spirits, that exist only for the mind. A merely living being, an animal, cares as little for them as a child. . . [H]e succumbs to their power, and is ruled by—thoughts. This is the meaning of hierarchy. *Hierarchy is dominion of thoughts, dominion of mind!*"⁹³

It is for the same reason that Stirner criticized Proudhon for assuming that some pithy phrase is going to liberate people. Stirner:

"Because in his mind theft ranks as abominable without any question, Proudhon, for instance, thinks that with the sentence 'Property is theft' he has at once put a brand on property."⁹⁴) Stirner wanted people to think for themselves, instead of following the dictates of power. The annihilation of this mental straitjacket would then lead to *insurrection*, an uprising of (free) thinking individuals. Stirner purposely differentiated insurrection from revolution (a differentiation which was later adopted by Herbert Read).⁹⁵

He viewed revolution as a half-ass measure dominated by leadership that merely replaced one set of state actors with another. Stirner: "To this day the revolutionary principle has gone no farther than to assail only one or another particular establishment, to be reformatory. Much as may be improved, strongly as 'discreet progress' may be adhered to, always there is only a *new master* set in the old one's place, and the overturning is a—building up."⁹⁶ Of course Stirner was absolutely right on this score, as anyone can see from the Russian, Chinese, Cuban, etc., revolutions, where left wing idiots replaced right wing morons.

Blaming Stirner or individualist anarchy for turn of the century propaganda by deed is also off the mark. The 1890s in general were a violent decade that saw an escalation of strikes and worker mobilization, plus

talist media that was hardly friendly towards anarchism (just as it is today). If middle class respectability is what you're after with anarchism (e.g., get the middle class to like anarchists and maybe they'll vote them into office, à la social democracy), then you might as well pack it up and go home.

Stirner makes the perfect whipping boy. Like Marx or Sade, he can be condemned and summarily dismissed without having to know what he actually said. Stirner gets labeled (by those who don't like his ideas) as a demented anti-social misfit, a pre-Nietzschean fascist. Liberals attack Stirner for his "egoism" (i.e., egalitarian individualism) because their own stark individualism is little more than a justification for economic inequality and exploitation, hence elitism and a defining of the individual as a function of power. The socialist dislike of Stirner (e.g., Marx's extended attack in *The German Ideology*) stems from socialism's own meager definition of the individual and its antipathy to idealism. Likewise, Bookchin's dismissal of Stirner has the intentional effect of exalting his own position vis-à-vis individualist anarchy as the more "social" of the two.

Yet if Stirner really was the anti-social paragon he is made out to be, one has to wonder why other communist anarchists embraced him. For example, the anarchist historian Max Nettlau: "I have offered extracts [from a previous work] in order to back up my opinion that Max Stirner was at heart eminently social, socialist, desirous of social revolution; but being openly anarchist, his so-called 'egoism' was a form of protection, the defense that he believed necessary to adopt against authoritarian socialism, against all statism that the authoritarians might insinuate into socialism."⁹⁷

Emma Goldman: "It is the same narrow attitude which sees in Max Stirner naught but the apostle of the theory 'each for himself, the devil take the hind one.' That Stirner's individualism contains the greatest social possibilities is utterly ignored. Yet, it is nevertheless true that if society is ever to become free, it will be so through liberated individuals, whose free efforts make society."⁹⁸ It may also be noted here that the revolutionary communist, Alexander Berkman, sold Stirner's book through his magazine, *The Blast*.⁹⁹

Perhaps more to the heart of the matter is that with Stirner, anarchism truly became a doctrine of individual and communal liberation. The communal individuality component was fully realized and that essential tension between the individual and the community came to the forefront as a core anarchist principle. (Coming at the time that Stirner did, taking his anarchism in part from Proudhon, the individuality and liberty components had not yet been fully articulated, e.g., for all that Proudhon may be lauded, he was also sexist and anti-Semitic, which was hardly anarchist.) Furthermore, because of Stirner, anarchism could never again be confused with socialism or subsumed within it as a "deviant" variant (though some still try). After Stirner, when compared to anarchism, all liberalism and socialism is authoritarian drivel.

Individualists & Utopians

The shift within European anarchism, from mutualism to collectivism to communism (which was more an accumulation, one variant didn't eliminate the others) also occurred within the United States, especially among the industrial working class. However, in the USA there was another factor not part of the European equation, namely, the individualist anarchism of Benjamin Tucker. Individualist anarchism in the USA extended from the communal-utopian movements of the mid-

19th century (influenced by the writings of Godwin, Robert Owen and Charles Fourier). Josiah Warren (a former member of Owen's commune in Indiana) is considered to be the first individualist anarchist. Other better known individualist anarchists were Ezra Heywood, William B. Greene and Lysander Spooner. Tucker knew some of these anarchists and eventually he became the leading spokesperson for this variant on account of his long running periodical *Liberty*.

Benjamin Tucker was significantly influenced by Proudhon (he adopted Proudhon's mutualism), as well as Stirner (the English translation of Stirner's book, which is still in print, was by Tucker associate Steven T. Byington). Just as mutualism had resonated with segments of the French populace, so mutualist-type American individualist anarchism appealed to certain socio-economic subgroups within the United States (those that anarcho-communism would never reach). That is, the tens of thousands of people who had participated in American communal utopianism lived a daily existence that was largely self-sufficient, based in farming and/or craftswork and trades. Individualist anarchism appealed to some of this diminishing socio-economic stratum, and others.

But then after the Civil War, the United States rapidly became industrialized. Consequently, there were swelling numbers of people working in factories (blue and white collar), employed by capitalist concerns, and less of those who had an independent livelihood. Hence, the gross trend was from the rural farm to the urban factory, from independence to dependency.

In regards to social transformation, Tucker followed Proudhon in favoring tactics that were more gradual than revolutionary (which is, I guess, the reason why Tucker is sometimes made out to be no more than an armchair intellectual). He advocated a modified mutualism, plus the use of boycotts (non-payment of taxes and no military service), and sometimes more drastic measures. Tucker: "Neither the ballot nor the bayonet is to play any great part in the coming struggle; passive resistance and, in emergencies the dynamite bomb in the hands of isolated individuals are the instruments by which the revolutionary force is destined to secure in the last great conflict the people's rights forever."¹⁰²

Trading Insults

Like Stirner, Tucker also gets accused of being anti-social. And also like Stirner, this charge has little relation to what Tucker actually said, e.g., "the community" is a nonentity, that it has no existence, and that what is called the community is simply a combination of individuals having no prerogatives beyond those of the individuals themselves." Also, "Today . . . society is fundamentally anti-social. The whole so-called social fabric rests on privilege and power, and is disordered and strained in every direction by the inequalities that necessarily result therefrom."¹⁰¹

At any rate, what eventually happened is that anarcho-communists and individualist anarchists finally noticed each other. Even though individualist and communist anarchy are fundamentally one in the same doctrine, their respective supporters still ended up at loggerheads over secondary issues of tactics and economics (viz., what allows the variants of anarchy to "fit" differing circumstances). A verbal dispute broke out. Both groups had their own periodicals, and each side began to disparage the other, which reached its nadir when Tucker and Kropotkin traded insults.

Tucker: "In view of these things, I submit that General Walker [president of MIT in 1887, when Tucker wrote this] has no warrant whatever for referring to such men as Kropotkin [sic] as true Anarchists and 'among the best men in the world,' while in the same breath he declares . . . that 'the mobs at the Haymarket were composed of pick-pockets, housebreakers, and hoodlums,' and that 'the ruffians who are called Anarchists who formed the mob in the Haymarket in Chicago were not Anarchists.' If Kropotkin is an Anarchist, then the Chicago men are Anarchists; if the Chicago men are not Anarchists, then Kropotkin is not an Anarchist . . . And as to their Anarchism, neither of them are Anarchists. For Anarchism means absolute liberty, nothing more, nothing less. Both Kropotkin and the Chicago men deny liberty in production and exchange, the most important of all liberties, without which, in fact, all other liberties are of no value or next to none. Both should be called, instead of Anarchists, Revolutionary Communists."¹⁴

"The reason why Most and Parsons are not Anarchists, while I am one, is because their Communism is another State, while my voluntary co-operation is not a State at all. It is a very easy matter to tell who is an Anarchist and who is not. One question will always readily decide it. Do you believe in any form of imposition upon the human will by force? If you do, you are not an Anarchist. If you do not, you are an Anarchist. What can any one ask more reliable, more scientific, than this?"¹⁵

A Sort of Epicurean Amoralism

Kropotkin: "Tucker thus follows [Herbert] Spencer, and, like him, opens (in the present writer's opinion) the way for re-constituting under the heading of 'defence' all the functions of the State . . . The Individualist Anarchism of the American Prodhonians finds, however, but little sympathy amongst the working masses. Those who profess it—they are chiefly 'intellectuals'—soon realise that the *individualisation* they so highly praise is not attainable by individual efforts, and either abandon the ranks of the Anarchists, and are driven into the Liberal individualism of the classical economists, or they retire into a sort of Epicurean amoralism, or super-man theory, similar to that of Stirner and Nietzsche. The great bulk of the Anarchist working men prefer the Anarchist-Communist ideas which have gradually evolved out of the Anarchist Collectivism of the International Working Men's Association."¹⁶

This dispute did not go unnoticed by other anarchists, and it was eventually called to a halt (or at least critiqued) by cooler heads who recognized it for what it was, a ridiculous squabble over secondary issues. Note the pronouncements of these anarchists:

Max Nettlau: "It [*Liberty*] was a very combative organ edited by Tucker that began to deny the right of the collectivist libertarian communists, and even Kropotkin, to call themselves anarchists, and it was argued in reply that those individualists could not be considered anarchists due to the fact that they sometimes accepted private property, etc. In my opinion, they understood each other very poorly, nothing was known then in Europe of the fifty-year past American anarchist history, and very little in America as well of the same European history of the previous fifty years. There was enough room for both currents, that up to then had taken very little interest in each other, that hadn't even been aware of each other's existence."¹⁷

Errico Malatesta: "There are those among the anarchists who like to call themselves communists, or collectivists, or individualists or what have you. Often it is a question of different interpretations of words which obscure and hide a fundamental identity of objectives; sometimes it is only a question

of theories, hypotheses with which each person explains and justifies in different ways identical practical conclusions . . . In the anarchist milieu, communism, individualism, collectivism, mutualism and all the intermediate and eclectic programmes are simply the ways considered best for achieving freedom and solidarity in economic life; the ways believed to correspond most closely with justice and freedom for the distribution of the means of production and the products of labour among men . . . But in the long run it is always the searching for a more secure guarantee of freedom which is the common factor among anarchists, and which divides them into different schools. The individualists assume, or speak as if they assumed, that (anarchist) communists want to impose communism, which of course would put them right outside the ranks of anarchism. The communists assume, or speak as if they assumed, that the (anarchist) individualists reject every idea of association, want the struggle between men, the domination of the strongest—and this would put them not only outside the anarchist movement but outside humanity. . . . Thus it has happened for anarchists of the different tendencies, in spite of the fact that fundamentally they wanted the same thing to find themselves, in fierce opposition on the practical questions of life and propaganda."¹⁸

Voltairine de Cleyre: "Now it is perfectly apparent that Anarchy, having to do almost entirely with the relations of men [sic] in their thoughts and feelings, and not with the positive organization of production and distribution, an Anarchist needs to supplement his Anarchism by some economic propositions, which may enable him to put in practical shape to himself and others this possibility of independent manhood. That will be his test in choosing any such proposition,—the measure in which individuality is secured . . . Every Anarchist has this in common with every other Anarchist, that the economic system must be subservient to this end: no system recommends itself to him by the mere beauty and smoothness of its working . . . There are, accordingly, several economic schools among Anarchists; there are Anarchist Individualists, Anarchist Mutualists, Anarchist Communists and Anarchist Socialists. In times past these several schools have bitterly denounced each other and mutually refused to recognize each other as Anarchists at all. The more narrow-minded on both sides still do so; true, they do not consider it is narrow-mindedness, but simply a firm and solid grasp of the truth, which does not permit of tolerance towards error. This has been the attitude of the bigot in all ages, and Anarchism no more than any other new doctrine has escaped its bigots. Each of these fanatical adherents of either collectivism or individualism believes that no Anarchism is possible without that particular economic system as its guarantee, and is of course thoroughly justified from his own standpoint . . . Therefore I say that each group of persons acting socially in freedom may choose any of the proposed systems, and be just as thorough-going Anarchists as those who select another. If this standpoint be accepted, we are rid of those outrageous excommunications which belong properly to the Church of Rome, and which serve no purpose but to bring us into deserved contempt with outsiders."¹⁹

Anarchism Without Adjectives

Although this feud between communist and individualist anarchy (over who is or isn't a "real" anarchist) eventually faded, it still resurfaced on occasion. For example, a couple decades ago George Woodcock made this assertion: "I am doing neither [Noam] Chomsky nor [Daniel] Guérin an injustice in stating that neither is an anarchist by any known criterion; they are both left-wing

Marxists."²⁰ Here it wasn't communist v. individualist anarchy, but communist v. syndicalist; Woodcock was hooting Chomsky and Guérin out of the anarchist camp on account of their partiality to anarcho-syndicalism.

This then brings us back to the present, and Mr. Bookchin's attempt to rid anarchy of its individualist component. One statement that he makes in particular eerily resounds the old controversy. At the end of his essay Bookchin says the following: "Certainly, it is already no longer possible, in my view, to call oneself an anarchist without adding a *qualifying adjective* to distinguish oneself from lifestyle anarchists" (emphasis added; p. 61). Meaning, I guess, that from now on Bookchin is going to call himself a "social anarchist" instead of simply "anarchist," while all the rest of us can label ourselves "lifestyle anarchists."

Anarquismo sin adjetivos

In George Esenwein's book, *Anarchist Ideology And The Working-Class Movement In Spain, 1868-1898*, we read this interesting statement: "Beginning in 1886, the anarchists grouped around the Barcelona printers' association La Academia made a serious attempt to exorcise the Spanish anarchist movement of doctrinal disputes by espousing a nondenominational form of anarchism in the periodical *Acracia*. . . . After *Acracia* ceased publication in 1888, the campaign to

anarquismo sin adjetivos was simply understood as an attitude that tolerated the coexistence of different anarchist schools."²¹

So perhaps that is what we need to stress here: *anarquismo sin adjetivos*.

To close, I would like to note the obvious, I have said practically nothing to rebut Bookchin's specific charges against Bey, Zerzan, etc., as they can well enough speak for themselves. My intention here was to show that Bookchin's assault on individualist anarchy is nothing new, and mostly wasted effort. What I really don't understand though, if I may be permitted here a momentary spasm of digression, is why Bookchin spends so much time getting hot under the collar about primitivism, bohemianism, or whatever, and all the while he totally ignores the real lifestyle "anarchists." Barely a word, if that, about the walking brain-dead who call themselves "anarchists" and are members of the Libertarian or Republican party, devotees of the capitalist-worshipping Murray Rothbard and Ayn Rand, or the other assorted right wing authoritarians and oddball reactionaries who wouldn't know anarchism from a hole in the ground (who lament about government "interference" in their "private" lives and then clamor for more police and military, or else retreat to the backwoods with Bibles and testosterone). Their "anarchism" is pure escapist fantasy as they wax enthusiastic about metaphysical entities such as the "free market." What about it, Bookchin?



"There are several economic schools among Anarchists. . . In times past [they] have bitterly denounced each other and mutually refused to recognize each other as Anarchists at all. The more narrow-minded on both sides still do . . ."

—Voltairine de Cleyre

eradicate sectarianism from the anarchist movement was taken up by several of the intellectuals associated with Antonio Pellicer's circle. Their collective efforts led to the formal articulation of a viewpoint that came to be known as *anarquismo sin adjetivos* (anarchism without adjectives). Considered by some historians to be Spain's only real contribution to anarchist theory, anarchism without adjectives was actually more of a perspective or an attitude than a set of specific ideas. In its broadest sense, the phrase referred to an unhyphenated form of anarchism, that is, a doctrine without any qualifying labels such as communist, collectivist, mutualist, or individualist. For others,

Why the silence on these half-wits?

In conclusion, a quotation from Max Nettlau's essay, "Anarchism: Communist or Individualist?" — Both, which appeared in the July 1914 issue of Emma Goldman's magazine *Mother Earth*. "Neither Communism nor Individualism will ever disappear; and if by some mass action the foundations of some rough form of Communism were laid, Individualism would grow stronger than ever in opposition to this. Whenever a uniform system prevails, Anarchists, if they have their ideas at heart, will go ahead of it and never permit themselves to become fos-

Letters to the FE

New Definition

Dear Fifth Estate:

Congratulations on your 30th anniversary! It's been a while since I sent you any money as I never seem to have any myself, but here's a little to thank you for the work you've done and to encourage your continued survival. From the integrity of Bradford to the poetry of Perlman, the Fifth Estate remains an inspiration.

I take issue however, with the odd explanation of your name given in the anniversary issue (see "What Does 'Fifth Estate' Mean?" Spring 1996). When a name or phrase has no commonly accepted meaning, it is important to give it one that reflects its actual use in the world. I offer the following:

fifth estate, n. the people themselves, the true source of all political power. Distinguished from the traditional four estates with political power (clergy, nobility, bourgeoisie, and the press).

W. Mark Schneider
Los Altos Hills, Calif.

Stupid Sports Logo

Dear FE:

Americans have it easy with bear species, the North American black bear being easily the least aggressive. Virtually every other type of bear—polar, sloth, Asian black, grizzly, Kodiak—are among the most hostile and dangerous of carnivores. Lions are mostly disinterested, leopards are circumspect, and tigers, who are on top of the food chain in some of the most populous areas of the world, only very rarely prey on humans. Hyenas, wolves, etc., are in general, no danger at all to humans.

Partly due to a poor facial musculature, bears have limited ability to warn off interlopers. An encounter with other carnivores can be terrifying even if nothing happens, whereas bears tend to act a little spaced, then lumber off seemingly benign. Unless of course, you're actually attacked—in which case I'm sure the Grizzly Project won't be soliciting your opinion. (See Spring 1996 FE, "Tales of the Planet.")

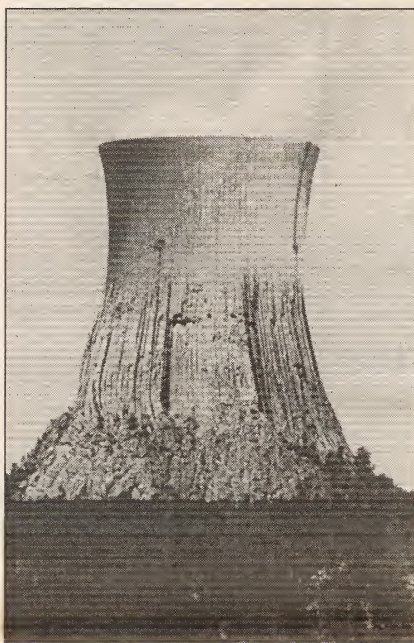
Now, about the stupid [Vancouver Grizzlies] sports logo. I would sooner condemn it for bad taste than because it represents a bear's more savage aspect. Would the Grizzly Project have preferred something more Disneyesque, a la The Lion King?

What is being said here? The individual Viking Berserkers were inspired by the bear's predatory fervor, and before such practices were codified and held, they stood as one of the most potentially liberating responses to Leviathan. But perhaps Yogi Bear is more edifying.

This whole thing is reminiscent of the animal rights theorists whose contrived vision has as much to do with nature as Christianity has to do with love. Fury, predation, and attack are part of Nature's raiment, and those who would rather imagine our predators out in the woods playing patty cake maybe shouldn't indulge their fantasies in a public forum, least of all the FE.

I want an end to civilization also, but I face that prospect with fewer preconceptions as to what it means to be an animal... or to be human.

By the way, I love the name, Fifth Estate.



"Devil's Tower"—photo: Rick Gallup

To me it says "we the uncategorized; we who don't belong." Please don't change it.

John Filiss
Port Jervis, N.Y.

Radical Enviros

Dear Fifth Shanty:

I think your name is just fine. Your point about recognition/continuity is extremely important. The radical enviro community has not learned this lesson. Many abandon or utilize the Earth First! name as it suits them.

Jason Halbert
Warfordsburg, Penn.

Tract Plaque

Dear Fifth Estate:

Regarding the Czolgosz article (See Spring 1996 FE, "The Michigan Roots of Leon Czolgosz"), I went to Buffalo in 1967 to attend the university there, and spent a bit of time looking for the "monument" to his *attentat* and finally discovered it! There was a small rock with a plaque in front of a semi-suburban tract house—no mention of Leon at all.

Bernard
San Francisco, Calif.

Real Bullets Flew

To the Fifth Estate:

I am a long time subscriber. "Reclaim the Streets," from your Spring 1996 "Tales From The Planet," prompts my first commentary on your usually excellent analyses and reporting. I thought that Anarchy means building cooperative alternatives

to the present exploitative, force-based system. Since when does it mean acting like spoiled, arrogant jerks?

What does it mean to protest "the overuse of private motor-cars?" Who judges? What is "overuse?" Is it simply a matter of one person choosing to drive when another would use alternate transportation? I notice the article does not mention that the protesters eschew automobiles altogether.

How does forcing hundreds of run-of-the-mill individuals to accede to the agendas of a self-appointed few build community? Did the workers and students whose lives were disrupted consent? Was their consent

even asked? Did anyone stop to think that delaying emergency equipment can cause needless deaths from fire and medical trauma? How does it threaten the power structure? Do juvenile antics accomplish anything more than alienating folks who share a leaky boat with us, making the many want the cops to show up and bash heads?

Self-appointed Yuppies in this part of the world employ similar tactics. They remind me of the daddy-got-money anti-warriors of the '60's and early '70's who had kid-with-a-new-toy fun playing evolutionary until real bullets flew at Kent State. They lost interest entirely when Tricky Dick ended the draft. Their false community was more destructive than anything the Government could have done to destroy faith in cooperative living.

Isn't building bridges more sensible than burning them? Isn't it presumptuous to excommunicate people because we disagree with their choices? Isn't leading by example more effective than pontificating, affecting great wisdom, and pretending to possess moral and intellectual superiority?

Yours for a thoughtful, non-coercive, future,
Daniel R. Schenck
St. Helens, Oregon

How Many Words?

Greetings:

In your last issue you state [in "History of the Fifth Estate" below a quote from the FBI] "the above twelve-word summary by the nation's secret police serves adequately as an abbreviated history of this paper..." I think if you count the number of words,

you will find only nine.

The article otherwise was very informative. At the time, I was sailing in the merchant marine—carrying bombs and beer to Vietnam.

A very good book on that era is *Thy Will Be Done—The Conquest of The Amazon: Nelson Rockefeller and Evangelism in The Age of Oil* by Gerard Colby and Charlotte Dennett, Harper Collins, 1995. I would rank this book alongside Ferdinand Lundberg's, *The Rich & The Super-Rich* or G. William Domhoff's, *The Higher Circles*, for the insight it gives. The same forces that were at work subduing the natives of Vietnam were subduing the native peoples of South and Central America—CIA, AID, etc.

Robert M. Mills
Birmingham, Ala.

FE Note: Congratulations. You are the only reader to have passed our minimum intelligence test. However, the author and the rest of our staff who counted the words all flunked.

Welcome Back

To the Fifth Estate:

I'm back [as a subscriber] after a 18-year hiatus. I'm including a \$2 prisoner donation.

Wm. Hancock
Frankfort, Ky.

Techno-Nightmare

Dear Friends:

I really enjoyed the back issues you sent me; you guys are right on target, for the most part. It's a pleasure to read some real technological criticism without having to search a used book store for a couple of days.

Plus, I'm stuck here in Kentucky, where everybody is turning into a faithful believer in the techno-nightmare. Our industrial recruiters are promising our bodies and minds to the highest bidder (and the more polluting the better).

Can I make a suggestion? I'd give just about anything to see an article on Jacques Ellul in the FE. He's the one who really opened my eyes to the truth about technology. It's unfortunate that he's never mentioned anywhere; I've been reading his books for years and know almost nothing about him.

Now would be a good time to do an article about him, since he died in 1994. His memory needs to be kept alive!

Jeff McFadden
Somewhere in Kentucky

FE Best Defense

Dear Fifth Estate:

First of all, thanks. Thanks for hanging in there in spite of all the struggles and more related in your "History of the Fifth Estate" last issue. Reading the FE is the best defense I have against the inanity that assaults me everyday, coming at me from the media, the government, and the arts.

Included are a few things for you, just for your information. I enjoyed very much your articles on WWI, the Wobs, and the Shell murders. I am getting my IWW poems ready for printing. Several presses have taken them on only to drop them.

Too many years of waiting. I'll do them myself. The broadside is the first from my press. The booklet, one of three, others by Dennis Formento and Gary Lawless. The Ken Saro Wiwa poem because of your article. Stay well. You folks are important, don't forget it. In the midst of the squabbling that always goes with this territory, don't forget.

Joe Napora
Ashland, Ky.

Dioxin & Tree Mush

Hi there,

After 30 years of doing this, you still want money? How many reams were spent decrying the stuff? You need value—reified and reified eventually into sparks flitting from one node to another. Signals that are converted into sustenance by the activated protein masses being human. In such a sense, this medium here has little value; the intent is not to pollute your bodies with dioxin and tree mush.

Some fanzine given away in a roomstore shared with *Factsheet5* and *Zerzan* and Bukowski being offered for \$5 reminded me with tones of righteous indignation that banks make money like magic—out of thin air. The depositor's money is not touched; that's just collateral, so every loan that comes back to them—plus interest—did not exist before said customer made it real by buying his/her whatever. So, the national debt we are told to be slaves to is a monstrous fiction. 'Tis mind bogging.

We have victories, puny though they may be like soldiers, recovering from flesh wounds to get back in the battle. Little Sisters bookstore winning their case against Canada Customs; folks having charges laid under an arcane law—intimidating the legislature!—dropped by the Crown; likewise for anti-poverty activists arrested in an action prompted by the welfare minister; and a small public service union fighting the government to a standstill. Yeah, such strange alliances our enemies put us into.

Pause too long and groovy screen saver comes up; wait long enough and get slapped with a corporate icon. There is no escape, and to think this machine is "owned" by a Stalinist.

Peace & Love,
Stu Vickers
Toronto

A Queer Commune

Howdy y'all:

Greetings from down under the hill in Tennessee. I've been reading the Spring 1996 FE and it inspired me to write to you, subscribe, and send a donation to help out.

How to express myself from this backwoods, upside down, inside out hollow to your urban sensibilities? It is a trip living at a queer commune amidst the buckle of the Southern Baptist bible belt. You may have heard of Tennessee's recent resolution encouraging the public posting of the 10 Commandments. Surrounded by beauty, not too far from Watts Bar Nuke Plant, chip mills, the homes of Al Gore and Andrew Jackson, in a county where you can't buy wine.

How do we survive, you might wonder? Well, for starters, we make lots of homemade wine and beers which taste better than Stroh's. And garden. And party. And play music. And laugh, which sometimes seems like the only thing left to do after mourning.

The most challenging part of my life is coping with AIDS as so many friends die, and now my boyfriend, Spree, has AIDS.



Cops and their negation. —photo: Alex Smart

We have been together 7-1/2 years and all of his vomiting, weight loss, etc. breaks my heart regularly. With winter over (sort of) he seems to be regaining vitality.

We performed last month at a conference in Cleveland called "Performing AIDS," and Spree had an incredible amount of energy. People laughed and cried; I was jubilant to see the impact we could have, to share zaniness/pain wrapped together.

We walk a strange tightrope between alternative treatments and the medical establishment. We take everything the white coats say with a grain of salt and we also watch out for New Age charlatans peddling medical cures. So, he'll take drugs and miso; hospital examinations and wild salads.

How many friends of mine have died in the last year? A dozen or two! Including a roommate from Ann Arbor. It fucks with my mind and challenges me not to be constantly numb. Spree is definitely scared at times, not so much of dying, but of the misery and suffering we have witnessed so many friends go through. But he also has an amazing beauty and irreverent strength that helps us savor the pleasures he can handle.

Like walking through the woods, down the late winter/early spring road. Past the wildflowers, whites, yellows, purples, pinks (soon red too); green shooting up everywhere. Seems like just yesterday I was holding him as the temperature plunged below zero and we couldn't keep our uninsulated homes warm no matter how much wood we burned. Now he blossoms as we walk past the flowers, past the waterfall across from our mailbox, gushing spring fluids and drowning out bird songs with its effervescent echoes off the hills.

Three creeks merge there (one flows out of a nearby cave which houses numer-

ous bats of an endangered species). And there is a huge patch of chickweed on the rocky bank, my favorite salad bar this winter (along with various wild onions and cress that stayed green throughout the cold days). We pick our salad and head home—two miles round trip and we don't pass any moving vehicles. I love it.

I love that he can walk. Last fall he couldn't, until the lesions on his feet were zapped and he recovered from the horrendous side effects. Again, the technology and the doctors are frightening. But so is AIDS. There's no easy answer. There's no answer. So we continue to pick our salads and herbs.

And as spring moves forward, the variety of edible greens increase. New violets, trout lily, toothwort, Claytonia and pansy flowers are common. Our early crops are up: peas, radishes, spinach, lettuce, chard, carrots, onions. And garlic—the one crop we are self-sufficient in (we grew about 2,000 garlic plants last year for us and Short Mountain Sanctuary).

We put in our first potatoes last week, and planted more than 1,000 onions. The more I eat the food we grow, the harder it becomes to appreciate food shipped from California, Florida or Texas. Fresh food hits the spot and feels as valid a medicine for Spree as anything a doctor can prescribe. One of the greatest things for me last year was watching our tiller break, and then having to make new garden beds with shovels, not petroleum machines which are loud and ugly.

A few miles away is logging road, tobacco fields, cattle grazing, factories in town (eight miles away) and the general misery of capitalism. There ain't no escaping, but it's still fun to live the fantasy of creating (some of) our own reality in the midst of the mist in the woods by the creek near grandmother's house not too far from Christian technocracy.

Which brings me to the point of why I'm writing—to thank y'all for continuing to put out a fabulous provocative paper, one of the few print things left in the world that makes my heart sing with liberatory desire.

MaxZine
Dowelltown, Tenn.

Enforced Idleness

Dear Fifth Estate:

I recently was loaned a copy of your 30th Anniversary issue and enjoyed reading it very much.

I understand that prisoner subscriptions are free, so please start one for me. I am confined in a "correctional" facility, the fastest growing "industry" in Illinois and

have a year left of my sentence. Lots of time for reading as I was sentenced to enforced idleness.

I read that you are short of money, so even though the subscription is free, I will enclose a donation of \$2 with this letter. Doesn't sound like much, but when your total cash income is \$15 a month, it's quite a bit. Wish I could do more.

James L. Knight
Dixon, Ill.

Poorly Dispatched

Dear Fifth Estate:

I subscribed to your newspaper around February this year and received my first copy yesterday. I was just about to write and ask what was happening.

But when your paper arrived yesterday it was just folded over with a little hard-to-see address sticker on it, with no postage markings on it. I'm absolutely surprised it was delivered to me at all. I have never seen anything so poorly dispatched in all my years.

Maybe for international mail you could at least cello tape the newspaper closed so it can't unfold or unravel in transit, or possibly put it in a paper bag or something so the address label and postage markings stand out clearer.

John Glue
Cooktown, Australia

No Primitivist

Dear FE:

Sorry to say that I won't be renewing my subscription. I apologize for not responding sooner and am enclosing a couple of bucks to cover your last few wasted letters.

I just don't feel we have much in common any more. I was never a major primitivist, and have actually evolved somewhat away from "left" anarchism to "right" anarchism (libertarianism)—not that I would ever do anything as disgusting as vote or support Libertarian Party politics.

Also, funds are really low these days and I just don't have the "big bucks" to throw around like I used to. Kind of ironic that now that I've become a "capitalist," I'm more destitute than ever.

So long, it's been good to know ya.

Al Medwin
Farmingdale, N.J.

Our Voices

To Fifth Estate staff and readers:

Thanks to the Fifth Estate for the mention of Kick It Over in your last issue. As you noted, KIO is still alive and kicking, just a little less regularly these days.

It's the money thing that's slowing us down. Like most of the anarchist press, Kick It Over does not pay for itself. Rather, the magazine depends, as do most such projects, on the generosity of our readers and the commitment of those who put it together to make up the costs beyond what subscriptions and newsstand sales bring in. Recent steep rises in paper and postage expenses have exacerbated the situation.

Kick It Over receives a large number of publications from across North America and around the world, anarchist, feminist, ecology and other alternative papers and zines. Over the last several months, I've noticed a disturbing rise in the number of appeals for funds in these publications. Even long-standing and well-respected projects are having money problems (note the appeal in the last FE, for instance).

So, this is an appeal to Fifth Estate

Continued on page 26

Fifth Estate Letters Policy

The Fifth Estate always welcomes letters commenting on our articles, stating opinions, or giving reports of events in local areas. We don't guarantee we will print everything we receive, but all letters are read by our staff and considered.

Typed letters or ones on disk are appreciated, but not required. Length should not exceed two, double-spaced pages. If you are interested in writing a longer response, please contact us.

Letters to The FE

Continued from page 25
readers on behalf of not only *Kick It Over* and the *Fifth Estate*, but of all anarchist projects and publications. In these days when the dominance of capital is expanding so rapidly, when the forces of authority and repression are strengthening their grip, and when truly alternative voices are becoming harder and harder to find, it is now more than ever vital that you support the anarchist press and other media projects.

These are our media, our means of communicating among ourselves and with others of like mind. And, it's up to us to keep these voices alive.

For *Kick It Over*,
Bob Melcombe
PO Box 5811, Stn. A,
Toronto ON M5W 1P
Canada

FE Note: For information on how to order Watson's Vietnam essay with its introduction by historian Richard Drinnon, see our book page.

Right-Wing Anarchism
Dear Fifth Estate:

I sent a copy of *Green Apocalypse* to you before, but for some reason it was returned. I thought something might be up with you, so I was especially pleased to see issue #347.

As you can see from *GA*, we've been having some problems with *Green Anarchist*. Their letter in your Spring 1996 issue is pretty much par for the course. Like the Unabomber, they offer a right-wing version of anarchism, and are now latching on to primitivism. Anyone who accuses them is accused of "siding with state assets" when they not accused of actually being state assets.

I don't understand why anyone except right-wing bozos would give the Unabomber the time of day. We've been active in the alternative publishing scene for a couple of decades publishing revolu-

tionary news and views. We have been part of a world-wide network which has been generating debate and reflection on all sorts of struggles across the world.

Rather than taking part in this unglamorous work, the Unabomber is so inflated with his own ideas that he threatened to murder people unless his second rate ideas were published in the mainstream media. What a shit! Rather than participate in the slow and sometimes painful process of collectively developing a discussion with people across the world, the Unabomber adopts the pose of a Lex Luther, an asocial genius whose ideas will "change the world."

When we get to read these "wonderful" ideas, what do we get?—a heap of reactionary bullshit. His tirade against "over-socialised leftists" smacks of warmed up left-overs from Frederick Nietzsche. O.K., he's against technology, but this comes from an anti-modernist, right-wing perspective. For those who can't figure it out themselves, the Unabomber spells it out when he suggests that:

"The people whose behaviour is fairly well under the control of the system are those of the type that might be called 'bourgeois.' But there are growing numbers of people who in one way or another are rebels against the system: welfare leaches, youth gangs, cultists, Satanists, Nazis, radical environmentalists, militiamen, etc..." (Thesis 161)

This is just reactionary elitism, and shows the Unabomber up for the scum s/he. It comes as no surprise that *Green Anarchist* reproduced the Manifesto and offers accolades to the Unabomber, as this fits in with their own right-wing agenda. But I am surprised that others haven't condemned the Unabomber not simply as an embarrassment but as a reactionary.

In the twenties and thirties, reactionary left-wing parties like the Social Democrats and the Communist Parties tried to offer alliances with revolutionaries on the basis of a shared discourse around class. Those who entered such alliances soon found out at their peril the consequences of such pacts, e.g. the 1937 May Days in

Barcelona.

From this experience it is clear that those who are ready to push technological progress aside in favour of the world human community have nothing to gain from aligning themselves with people who make a fetish of the struggle against technology. It doesn't matter whether these creeps remain in the right-wing sewers of the militia movement, or pose as anarchists.

Anyway, I should have some more bits on pieces to send you soon—a Hakim Bey scandal in Italy and a discussion of primitivism in Detroit which is to appear in *Transgressions* #2.

In Solidarity,
Fabian Tompsett
Unpopular Books
Box 15, 136 Kingland High Road
London E8 2NS, England

FE Note: Write to the above address for a catalog of interesting anti-authoritarian titles.

Neither Victim

Fifth Estate:

In "Looking Back on the Vietnam War: History and Forgetting" (Summer 1995 FE), David Watson quotes Frances Fitzgerald's statement that American officers called the area outside Government of Vietnam control "Indian country." Fitzgerald adds: "It was a joke, of course, no more than a figure of speech," but in fact there is a declassified 1963 Pentagon film that has to be seen to be believed.

This 32-minute film, called "Kennedy's Cold War—keeping the Commies Covered"—is available from MPI Home Video (MP 1423, 1988). I highly recommend it to those wishing to see how the world was viewed by the Kennedy Administration, and how (at the time) only the eyes of CIA, State Department, and military personnel were to view the world. There is so much packed into it, I'll only cover the "Indian Fighters" part.

The film comments on "communist infiltration and subversion using guerrilla hit-and-run warfare" portraying the strategic hamlets as stockaded forts "strongly reminiscent of the American past." They relate that "once more fighting is on a primitive level" and "the techniques are those of the Indian fighter, the scout: more silently, use the concealment of woods, swamp, or jungle. Strike fast and hard." They also bring "heroes" of the past such as Roger's Rangers and Francis Marion "the Swamp Fox" as examples of some of the many "precedents in our history for some of the fighting methods used today. Guerrilla warfare is a new challenge, but an age old technique."

It appears to me that it was a war of mythological proportions, but also a war like all wars, i.e., murder. I found Albert Camus' questions in *Neither Victims nor Executioners* to be profound:

"To come to terms, one must understand what fear means, what it implies and what it rejects. It implies and rejects the same fact: a world where human life is considered trifling. This is the great political question of our times, and before dealing with other issues, one must take a position on it.

"Before anything can be done, two questions must be put: 'Do you or do you not, directly or indirectly, want to be killed or assaulted?' Do you or do you not, directly or indirectly, want to kill or assault?' All who say no to both these questions are automatically committed to a series of consequences which must modify their way of posing the problem."

Gregg Walker
Cambridge, MA

"A" Is Very Green

FE Note: The following came to us after our response to a pro-marxist newsletter we received from the group RSRA. We included a copy of the Spring 1992 Fifth Estate which includes George Bradford's essay, "The Fall of Communism; The Triumph of Capital." See book page for ordering information.

To The Fifth Estate:

Thank you for the copies of the Fifth Estate and your note. While we are not about to take down the picture of Marx and Engels from the wall and put up the black flag, we always want to pay attention and enter into the thoughts of others.

We have read Bradford's article "The Triumph of Capital," some of the most serious anarchist writing we have read. We are educated, but not converted.

Time does not permit a full opinion of it now. We hope to incorporate our thoughts in an RSRA article in October.

We did learn this: The anarchists have a big beef with the Marxists because they say whether you are a capitalist democratic society or a Marxist collective society, it's all the same. Both groups are run by capital, whether private or state. We have always suspected this but have never read a more detailed and documented account of it. This tie between the two systems certainly is and has always been the case.

Our response to this situation is that you must take it as a given, and go on from there. Our view of Modern Communism is tied to the simple Marx quote, "From each according to his abilities and to each according to his needs."

The anarchists are very serious. Their fulfillment depends upon the downfall of both systems, a pretty large agenda, but not out of the question. We feel that if this scenario were to happen, it would not be sudden or soon, but several lifetimes away. In the meantime, society is best served by leaning toward Marxism.

The black A is very green. This somehow surprised us. But a full reading of Bradford's article clarifies how green anarchy has to be. We approve of this thought yet at the same time are suspicious of things green.

We will pay more serious attention to anarchist writing in the future.

Edward Campbell
RSRA
PO Box 907
Astoria OR 97103

NOTICE TO BOOK
STORES, STUDY
GROUPS,
OR FOR OTHER BULK
ORDERS OF BEYOND
BOOKCHIN: PREFACE
FOR A FUTURE SOCIAL
ECOLOGY

BY DAVID WATSON
Contact Black & Red, PO Box
02374, Detroit MI 48202 or
Autonomedia, PO Box 568,
Williamsburgh Sta., Brooklyn NY
11211.

Don't Lose the Fifth Estate

If you move but don't notify us directly, you will miss the next issue. Second class mail is not forwarded, even if you notify the Post Office. Please write us before moving and include your old address and zip.

Over
30
years
of radical
publishing!
Subscribe
To The
Fifth
Estate



One Year Domestic Subscription: \$8
\$10 Foreign including Canada and Mexico
Libraries & Institutions: \$12: Prisoners: Free
Corporations & Government Agencies: \$50

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State/Prov. _____ Zip/Code _____

Begin my subscription with the next _____ issue/current _____ issue.
An additional \$2 pays for half of a prisoner's subscription.
Prisoner and GI subscriptions are free.

The new Earth First! an exchange on deep ecology and radical environmentalism

Dear Fifth Estate:

As an Earth First! sympathizer and subscriber to many deep ecology principles, I read David Watson's *How Deep Is Deep Ecology?* with great interest. I learned a tremendous amount from it. His criticisms were penetrating and well taken. I also appreciated the tone of sympathy despite profound differences.

Before I read it, I believed the world was overpopulated, in the sense that our species had already reached, or was close to reaching, the biological carrying capacity of the earth. I thought that the main cause of environmental destruction was population pressure. Of course, I never advocated Malthusian or other coercive/fascistic means of population control, but I did think it was the crucial long term issue environmentalists needed to address, through increased education efforts, increased access to contraceptives and women's health services, and the reduction of social injustice and economic and gender inequality.

After reading the essay, I still believe the world is overpopulated, but not in the sense that we are at or anywhere near the world's carrying capacity. (I now understand that problems usually attributed to overpopulation, like famines and deforestation in the Third World, have their roots in social and political situations, not biological.) Rather, I think it is overpopulated in the sense that I think this world would be a lot nicer for everyone, rich and poor, humans and non-humans, if there were fewer people in it. As Betsy Hartman writes, and Watson quotes, "No one wants a world of standing room only, where every bit of land, drop of water, and unit of energy is pressed into producing sustenance for an endlessly expanding human mass."

In accord with this new view of "overpopulation," I no longer see population control by non-Malthusian means as the crucial issue environmentalists need to take up, but rather as a secondary issue to the real issues: social injustice and economic and gender inequality. First, we should get rid of the coffee plantations, the cattle industry, the disposable chopstick industry (and the massive personal bank accounts that go with their corporate owners), then we can take on population control as a major issue.

I do, however, have a few objections to the piece. First, I think it underplays the long-run value of population control efforts by non-Malthusian means. Granted, any short run, alarmist, coercive methods, such as forced sterilization or letting people starve, are totally unacceptable, both ethically and because there are so many social and political factors to take on before we get to the biological. However, within the context of working for just land distribution and gender and economic equality, I don't see the harm in also advocating working for population reduction, through non-coercive methods.

The book makes it sound as though this world would be perfectly fine with twelve or fourteen billion people as long as resources were distributed fairly. Yes, with fair resource distribution and a few other changes in the direction of equity, we could live in a world with that many people, and possibly many more, but would we really want to? Certainly, it would be a lot easier to implement the kind of decentralized, bioregional communities that many left-eco-anarchists,

including myself (and, I presume, you), advocate, and avoid the massive empires that currently exist (although current, or even higher, population levels by no means preclude anarchical communities, or neoclassical empire). I think this is a point *How Deep Is Deep Ecology?* fails to address adequately.

My main objection to the essay is that while *Fifth Estate* criticisms of deep ecology and Earth First! were well warranted at the time (and should have been acknowledged by their targets), they are now outdated. The reader may come away from the essay thinking that most deep ecologists and EF'ers are neo-Malthusians who make no distinctions within the human species, are misanthropes who have only a weak critique of corporate domination and little or no social-political analysis. Granted, the neo-Malthusian, misanthropic, racist and fascist statements of Dave Foreman and Christopher Manes, key people in deep ecology and EF!, does tend to support this view. However, while it may have been fair to associate deep ecology and EF! with them in 1987, I think the association now outdated. Very few EF'ers now agree with or wish to be associated with their statements, and an increasing number of EF'ers don't want to be associated with them at all, especially Foreman.

For example, see Judy Bari's "Why I Am Not a Misanthrope" (a direct response to Manes) and "Breaking Up Is Hard To Do" (About Foreman's divorce from EF!) in her recent book *Timber Wars* (Common Courage Press). I think Bari's views are much more representative of the EF! of the '90s than the views of Manes and Foreman. I think you would find little to disagree with in Bari's book. (She does believe overpopulation to be the main cause of environmental destruction, but she certainly doesn't advocate Malthusian means of population reduction, just education, voluntary birth control, and social justice.)

Even Dave Foreman doesn't hold his old views any more. See his essay, "Second Thoughts of an Eco-Warrior" in *Defending the Earth: A Dialogue Between Murray Bookchin and Dave Foreman* (South End Press, 1991), where he states: "I have often left unstated, and sometimes unexamined, the social components of problems like overpopulation, poverty, and famine while trying to discuss their biological nature. I have also not always made clear that I abhor the human misery involved in such problems. I have been insensitive, albeit unintentionally, and for that, I humbly apologize."

In the same essay he writes of his two most infamous quotes, about letting Ethiopians starve, and about the U.S. being a safety valve for Latin America (cited in your essay), that "in the first case, I did not clearly say what I really meant, and in the second, I now reject some of what I did say at the time." He goes on to reformulate his opinion on both these subjects in an admirable manner.

Of course, he still believes that famine and overpopulation have a "biological nature" and describes William Catton's *Overshoot: The Ecological Basis for Revolutionary Change* (critiqued in your book) as "one of the most important books I have read in my lifetime." But at least he has gone back on his advocacy of neo-Malthusian, fascist and racist means of enforcing his beliefs.

—Illustration/Richard Mock



"I don't see the harm in also advocating working for population reduction, through non-coercive methods . . ."

For the last two summers, I've been involved with an Earth First! campaign in central Idaho to stop the logging of the Cove/Mallard roadless area (a crucial biological corridor in the largest complex of roadless areas remaining in the lower 48, the Greater Salmon Selway Ecosystem). The EF! of my (admittedly limited) experience is nothing like the EF! described in your essay; primarily it is moving in the direction you advocate, shedding most of its Malthusian rhetoric and talk of overpopulation and biological fatalism, and adopting a more serious economic/political analysis . . . Moreover, almost everyone at our EF! basecamp made a clear distinction between the timber corporations and the loggers themselves, and were aware of or would be open to the fact that the same corporations that exploit and abuse the earth also exploit and abuse women, minorities, indigenous cultures, and the working class. Thus, most people recognize that any act against corporate domination is inherently environmental.

A look at *The Earth First! Journal* confirms my perceptions. A recent issue contains not one mention of overpopulation as a major cause of environmental destruction or population control as a major solution. They don't even sell the "Malthus Was Right" bumperstickers anymore (though they do sell bumperstickers like "Love Your Mother, Don't Become One," "Love Your Mother, Don't Become a Father," and "Copulate, Don't Populate")—but these only advocate voluntary population reduction, which is a benign, positive position).

Deep ecology rejects anthropocentrism and in its place advocates biocentrism, the idea that we should live as partners with the rest of nature, not as its master. It is a recognition that nature has value in itself, independent of what value it has to us as humans, and that large chunks of it should be set aside

to exist on its own terms, not on the narrowly defined terms of human "stewards." One can be a deep ecologist without being a misanthrope. One can even be a deep ecologist and a left anarchist, as I am. Nothing in deep ecology principles is inconsistent with the idea that human society should be organized in decentralized, bioregional, anarchical communities, not the massive, coercive states and empires of the present.

Deep ecology and Earth First! are heading in the right direction. I hope to continue to rid the movement of dangerous tendencies and promote its positive aspects—which, I believe, have much to teach the rest of the ecology movement and radical movements in general.

**Snail Darter
Providence RI**

Watson responds: Thanks for your interest and your thoughtful comments. Judging from the evolution of your own perspective, I'm gratified to know the book is continuing to have the intended effect.

Despite your perception of strong differences, there is little that divides you from us other than an emphasis in the book on certain tendencies in the radical environmental movement of the late 1980s. Your deep concern about population growth and support for voluntary population reduction, as well as your desire for a greener, less peopled planet were and are ours. Furthermore *How Deep Is Deep Ecology?* was an attempt to defend deep ecology's best intuitions—which were not exclusive to the deep ecology idea—from the failure of a number of its self-appointed representatives to ask deep enough questions about the sources and social origins of the ecological crisis. In fact,

Continued on Page 31



After looking at the latest jam-packed issue of *Factsheet5*, PO Box 170099, SF, CA 94117, "the magazine of record" for zines, it doesn't seem like anyone should worry about the state of autonomous publishing. Still, a number of stalwart anarchist publications have either ceased publishing recently or are appearing much less frequently (like us?). *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* hasn't printed an edition since December 1995 and even then didn't get issues out to all its subscribers.

By early 1995, *Anarchy's* intrepid editor, Jason McQuinn, increased his publication's circulation to 8,000 copies quarterly by virtue of attractive, 4-color covers, diligent distribution, and solid anti-authoritarian content. Jason also began publishing the *Alternative Press Review*, a quarterly compilation of the alternative and anarchist press.

The increased burden led McQuinn to transfer production of *Anarchy*, the paper he had nursed since it was a tabloid in Columbia, Mo. 15 years ago to a publication group in New York City. Unfortunately, it appears as though the new gang wasn't up to the task. We've heard talk of a new issue coming out of a reconstituted publication group in Portland, Ore., but haven't seen anything yet. For info: C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia MO 65205.

Bayou La Rose announced in its August 1996 edition that it was going into "hibernation for a while." Arthur J. Miller, who founded the paper in New Orleans 18 years ago, cited child custody battles he lost due to being an anarchist, illness, overwork, and commitment to the Leonard Peltier support network as reasons for the its demise.

Miller sees himself outside the mainstream anti-authoritarian milieu which he said is inhabited by middle-class radicals and academics. Miller, a pipefitter in the shipbuilding industry, feels his paper was never taken seriously because it focuses almost exclusively on prisoner, native people, and Third World support activity.

Bayou never made it to the computer age and was pounded out on Miller's typewriter with little editing or proofreading. What it lacked in sophistication was compensated for by Miller's courage, dedication, and righteous indignation toward the crimes of the state. Hopefully, *Bayou* will wake in the spring from its hibernation with another issue. Contact: The Heart of Angiolillo, PO Box 5464, Tacoma WA 98415.

Gone to Croatan Dept., or What Ever Happened To...?: Michael Ziesing published books and zines promoting the individualist anarchist ideas of Benjamin Tucker during the 70s and 80s from his home in Willimantic, Conn. His publication, *Instead of Magazine*, thoughtfully examined themes Murray Bookchin might chide as "lifestyle" issues as a practical way to place

Continued on Page 30

Fifth Estate Books

ANARCHY OR CHAOS by George Woodcock

Written as World War II raged around him, Woodcock's brief history of anarchism is filled with youthful enthusiasm.
Lysander Spooner 124pp \$9.50

THE REVOLUTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE, by Raoul Vaneigem

First published in France in 1967, this book complements Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* which appeared the same year. The main programmatic statements of the Situationist International, these works played a large part in the gestation of the French 1968 May events.
Left Bank Books 216pp \$16

FOUR ARGUMENTS FOR THE ELIMINATION OF TELEVISION by Jerry Mander

Television doesn't just have "bad" content, but changes how we perceive the world. The result is a loss of the sensuous world and a passive, easily manipulated population.
Quill 371pp \$9

LIVING MY LIFE by Emma Goldman

The turbulent autobiography of a woman at the center of the century's major events. Although her life intersected with the famous figures of the era, it is the day-to-day struggles for anarchy which make this account come alive.
Dover 993pp (2 volumes) \$20

AUTONOMOUS TECHNOLOGY: Technics-Out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought by Langdon Winner

An important guide into the relationship between technology, politics and social change. Winner outlines the paradoxes of technological development, the image of alienation and liberation evoked by machines, and assesses the historical conditions underlying the exponential growth of technology.
M.I.T. Press 386pp \$15

THE FINAL EMPIRE: The Collapse of Civilization by WM. H. Kotke

Kotke's target is the entire course of civilization over the past 10,000 years. Facing the final empire of global corporate capitalism, and its last-gasp exponential curve toward complete ecological exhaustion, Kotke does not despair. He advocates seed communities, new human families based in Permaculture and healing, working together to recover the complex relations with nature and each other, lost in civilization's millennia of subjugating indigenous peoples.
Arrowpoint Press 396pp \$15

T.A.Z.: TEMPORARY AUTONOMOUS ZONE; Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism, by Hakim Bey

Proposes a new community which actualizes its will-to-power as disappearance. Bey states that human liberation, beauty and adventure lie beyond the hypocrisies and banalities of our present. A work of relentless imagination.
Autonomedia 141pp \$7

New Titles

It was a long time coming! Live Wild Or Die! #6

Turns out this publication and not the FE was the Unabomber's favorite paper. Oh, well. #6 is just as wild as the first five, with rants and raves and rebellion against civilization and its destruction of the wilderness.
Self-published 48pp \$3

New from Black & Red/Autonomedia Beyond Bookchin:

Preface for a Future Social Ecology

by David Watson

Besides providing a thorough critique of Murray Bookchin's narrow version of social ecology, this wide-ranging essay explores new paths of thinking about radical ecological politics. "... a brilliant, carefully argued critique [which] will do much to restore social ecology's promise as a broad, liberatory vision." —John Clark "Bookchin is the Elmer Fudd of North American anarchism, and Watson is the Bugs Bunny." —Hakim Bey
Black & Red/Autonomedia 256pp. \$8.00

Also by David Watson HOW DEEP IS DEEP ECOLOGY? With an Essay-Review on Woman's Freedom by David Watson

Written under the pen-name George Bradford, this influential essay, which first appeared in the Fall 1987 *Fifth Estate*, critiques at some of the assumptions and politics of deep ecologists and Earth First! activists at that time. Though EF! has evolved considerably since then (for a discussion of EF!'s evolution see page 27 of this issue), this small book remains a useful guide to important themes in ecological politics. It forms a kind of triad with Watson's essay, "Return of the Son of Deep Ecology" (FE #331, see back issues ad.)
Times Change Press 86pp. \$5.50

Buy Bi Books, or Bye, Bye Bi Books

FE Books carries a number of titles with radical sexuality and bi-sexuality themes, however, very few are ordered. If we don't get much response to these offerings, we will assume there either is no interest in them or readers have the information they need on the subject, and we'll delete them from our catalog.

NEW TITLE

BISEXUAL POLITICS: Theories, Queries & Visions edited by Liz Highleyman and Rebecca Kaplan

The authors (including FE's Sunfrog), are bisexual activists, historians and theorists whose essays contextualize and deconstruct notions of gender, sexual orientation and identity politics. Historically grounded, they inform, liberate, enlighten, excite, and challenge. Highly recommended.
Harrington Park Press 358pp \$15

BISEXUALITY: A Reader and Sourcebook edited by Thomas Geller

An excellent companion to the above titles.

MARXISM, FREEDOM, AND THE STATE

by Michael Bakunin

In the more than a century since these passages were written, the worship of the state has become a religion over the globe. We have seen the fulfillment of Bakunin's gloomy forebodings on the destination of Marxist socialism.
Freedom Press 63pp \$3.75

WORKER STUDENT ACTION COMMITTEES: FRANCE, MAY 1968 by R. Gregoire & F. Perlman

A handsome new edition of this 1969 pamphlet. Written after the authors returned from Paris with first hand accounts and lessons of the rebellion which almost toppled the French government, it remains relevant today. The revolutionary activity of the workers and students is contrasted with those forces pitted against them—the state, the unions and the Communist Party.
Black & Red 96pp \$3

FREE WOMEN OF SPAIN:

Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women

by Martha Ackelsberg

Ackelsberg traces the efforts by *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women) to create an independent organization of and for working class women that would empower them to take their places in the revolution and the new society. She argues that the anarchists' analysis of domination and subordination and the centrality of notions of community can be important resources for contemporary feminists.
Indiana Univ. Press 256pp \$15

SOUNDING OFF: Music as Subversion/ Resistance/Revolution

Ron Sakolsky & Fred Wei-han Ho, eds. Essays and graphics from dozens of writers who are music makers and social critics. Besides theorizing about music and social change, the authors analyze life in "The Belly of the Beast." The book concludes with essays on "Shattering the Silence of the New World Order." The back cover pro-

Geller offers personal experiences, philosophical speculations, clinical data, a bibliography, plus lists of organizations and publications.
Times Change Press 186pp Reduced: \$9

BI ANY OTHER NAME:

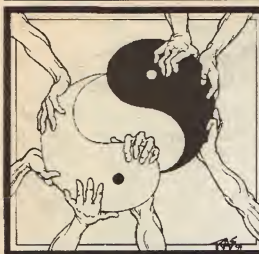
Bisexual People Speak Out edited by Loraine Hutchins and Lani Ka'ahumanu

Rejected by both Gay and Straight worlds, bisexuals have been a community in exile. With this rich and varied collection, bisexual women and men step forward into their own historical spotlight. The writing here deepens a discussion about passion and politics.
Alyson Publications 379pp \$12

Fifth Estate Books is located at 4632 Second Avenue, just south of W. Forest, in Detroit, in the same space as the Fifth Estate Newspaper. Hours vary, so please call before coming by.

HOW TO ORDER BY MAIL

1) List the title of the book, quantity, and the price of each; 2) add 10% for mailing costs—not less than \$1.24 U.S. or \$1.60 foreign (minimum for 4th class book rate postage); 3) total; 4) write check or money order to: **Fifth Estate**; 5) mail to: **Fifth Estate**, 4632 Second Ave., Detroit MI 48201 USA. Phone 313/831-6800 for hours and more information.



—graphic from cover of *Anarchy or Chaos* by George Woodcock. See p.28

claims: "We are gathered here together in all our subversive beauty and marvellous diversity, and . . . Music is our bomb!"
Autonomedia 352pp. \$15

VISION ON FIRE Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution edited by David Porter

A collection of Goldman's most significant, yet largely unpublished writings from the tumultuous final four years of her life. A powerful sequel to autobiographical *Living My Life*, it reveals her struggle with the deep contradictions of the Spanish Revolution. Sexism; violence, a hostile international context, leftist vanguards, popular front strategies, creating the new society, and movement organization are the issues Goldman faced in Spain.
Commonground Press 344pp. \$7.50

HAYMARKET SCRAPBOOK edited by

Dave Roediger & Franklin Rosemont
A large format, profusely illustrated account on the most world-reverberating event in American labor history. It chronicles the Haymarket bombing, the trial and execution of the martyrs, role of women and immigrant communities in the defense, sketches of the major personalities, and the event's heritage. Wonderful photographs, posters and drawings.
Charles H. Kerr 255pp (8X11) \$19

THIS WORLD WE MUST LEAVE AND OTHER ESSAYS by Jacques Camatte

A collection of Camatte's essays available in English. Two decades ago, Camatte straightforwardly called leftist political organizations and labor unions "rackets." He depicts a voracious Capital endowed with anthropomorphic needs requiring the domestication of humans.
Autonomedia 256 pp \$9

BEYOND GEOGRAPHY: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness

by Frederick Turner
Traces the "spiritual history" propelling European decimation of the Western hemisphere's native peoples who were rich in mythic life as the new arrivals were barren. Turner follows the unconscious desire in the Western invaders for the spiritual contentment they sensed in the cultures they destroyed.
Rutgers Univ. Press 329pp \$15.

SITUATIONIST INTERNATIONAL ANTHOLOGY

translated & edited by Ken Knabb
A compendium of writings by the influential Situationist International group. Included are texts preceding the group's formation, soundtracks from Guy Debord's avant-garde films, flyers dating from May 1968 and internal I.S. exchanges. The authors combine wit and insight in their fiery denunciations of bureaucrats, unions, politicians and leftists.
Bureau of Public Secrets 406pp. \$15.

ABC OF ANARCHISM by Alexander Berkman

This 1929 classic exposes the economic and ideological blinders imposed by capitalist institutions. Still effective is his response to the stereotypical accusation that equates anarchism with violence.
Freedom Press 86pp \$5

Fifth Estate Back Issues

Support the FE while increasing your reading pleasure: back issues are \$2 each, 6 for \$10, 15 for \$20. Some issues are in short supply; list one or two alternatives. Bulk quantities of issues #329 through the current issue (except for #342) are available. 20 copies or more at 50 cents each.

#272 (May 1978)—"Crisis in Health Care: Your Money & Your Life," part 1, "PBB: Case Study of an Industrial Plague," Murray Bookchin's "Myth of the Party."

#275 (August 1976)—"Unionization in America," "The Black Sea Monster," "Polish Food Riots."

#276 (September 1976)—"Cop Gang vs. Street Gangs," "Capitalism's Industrial Plagues," "Democracy."

#280 (February 1977)—"Worker Revolts in China," "More on the Revolt Against Work," "More on Organization," "Swine Flu Sham Fizzles."

#282 (April 1977)—"The New Family Therapy," "The Last SLA Statement," "Multinational Unions," "Criticism/Self-Criticism."

#288 (December 1977)—"Terrorism: the State Marches On," "More on Revolutionary Violence," "The Revolt of the Animals," "A Punk's Essay," "Punk: Musical Fad or Radical Kernel?"

#292 (June 1978)—"QUBE TV: Pushbutton 1984," "Against Realism & Its Causes," "Technology & Capitalism: America by Design," "Aldo No Moro," "We Demand."

#293/294 (August 1978)—"Pope Perishes," "The Return of the Social Revolution," "Economic Crisis & Revolution," "American Anarchism."

#295 (November 1978)—"Easy Come, Easy Go: Death of a Pope," "The Battle of France: May 1968," "The CNT in Modern Spain," "You May Be the Victim of an Art Attack."

#296 (January 1979)—"State Fetishism: Concerning the Red Army Faction," "Jonestown: An Epilogue," "Coke Adds Life . . . to Communism" (poster).

#299 (October 1979)—"Industrial Plague Widens," "Warning to the Pope," "Lasch's War of All Against All: The Culture of Narcissism," "John Zerzan's 'The Practical Marx,'" "It's Raining Stock-brokers."

#301 (February 1980)—"Carter's Phony War Crisis," "Fuck the Draft" (poster), "Take This Census & Shove It," "More on Narcissism."

#302 (June 1980)—"John Zerzan's 'The Promise of the '80s,'" also "Debate on Feminism," "Stay Where You Are."

#303 (October 1980)—"U.S./U.S.S.R. Prepare for Doozday," Zerzan's "The Refusal of Technology," "Poland: Triumph & Defeats," "Salamanders for Allah."

#306 (July 1981)—Special issue on technology: David Watson's "Against the Megamachine," "Marxism, Anarchism & the New Totalitarianism," "Technological Invasion," "Indigenism & Its Enemies," "Bob Brubaker's 'Community, Primitive Society and the State,' reviews, etc."

#308 (January 1982)—Special Anti-nuke war issue: "Draft Law at Standstill," Lewis Hyde and P. Solis on "Gift Exchange & the Imagination," "Poland Under Martial Law: What Next for Solidarity?" reviews of Richard Drinnon's *Facing West*, Burchill and Parsons' *The Boy Looked at Johnny: The Obituary of Rock and Roll*, more.

#311 (Winter 1982-83)—excerpt from Fredy Perlman's *A Against His Story*, Against Leviathan," David Watson on "Societies on the Brink" and "Norman Mayer & the Missile X," "Maple's 'The Pain of America and the Tylenol Killings,'"

#312 (Spring 1983)—"FE Tool of the Year: the Sledgehammer," "Pentagon War Plans on Automatic," "Notes on 'Soft Tech,'" Stanley Diamond on "Primitive vs. Civilized War: Contrasts," Bob Brubaker's "A Family Quarrel."

#313 (Fall 1983)—Mary Wildwood on "Detroit: High Tech & the Widening Gyre," "World-Wide Crisis: Is the Recovery Really Here?" Zerzan's "Beginning of Time, End of Time," and discussion, E.B. Maple reviews books on Israel.

#314 (Fall 1983)—"The Euromissiles & the Fate of the Earth," T. Fulano's "Civilization Is Like a Jetliner," "Exchange on Israel," "Sex & Pain," Watson's "A Response on Time," Zerzan's "The Eighties So Far."

#318 (Fall 1984)—"Elections Over—Gov't Rule Wins," "Criminals & Anarchists," David Watson's "Media: Capital's Global Village," "Emma Goldman in Spain," Brubaker's "The Baseball Riots."

#319 (Winter 1984)—"We All Live in Bhopal," "Birds Combat Civilization," Perlman's "The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism," "Anarchy in SF."

#322 (Spring 1986)—"20 Years of the Fifth Estate," "Space Not the Place," "Zionism & Jewish Ideals," "Anarchism in the Age of Reagan," "Fascist Youth Gangs."

#323 (Summer 1986)—"Anarchy in Chicago," "Resistance to the Plan is Heavy: Detroit's Trash Incinerator," "Mutinies Can Stop U.S. Wars," "Spain '36," "Christians to the Lions," "Space Not the Place" part 2, "Kent State."

#324 (Fall 1986)—"Kids—Say No to Gov't," "Critique of FE: Are We Losing It?" "The Case Against Art," "Books on Revolution & Violence," "A Pogrom Against Voodoo," "Review of Perlman's *The Strait*," "We Brought Our Piss to Reagan."

#325 (Spring 1987)—"Anarchy & the Left," "Three Cases for Art" (responses to Zerzan) William Kotke's "Earth Diet: Earth Culture," "Aberration: The Automobile," "I Didn't Go to Work Today" (poster) "Go Wild."

#326 (Summer 1987)—"Anarchy in Minneapolis," E. B. Maple's "Race, Class & Crime in the U.S.," "The Goat Case," "Did the U.S. Cause AIDS?" Richard Drinnon's "The Metaphysics of Dancing Tribes," "U.S.: War-to-War Salesmen," "Letter from Chernobyl."

#328 (Spring 1988)—Lynne Clive's "Palestine: Legacy of Conquest," "Delving Deeper Into Deep Ecology," "An Exchange on Deep Ecology & Population," "Women's Freedom: Key to the Population Question," "Earth First! and the Problem of Language," "Anarchy & the Sacred" (an exchange), "Barcelona May '37."

#329 (Summer 1988)—"Anarchy in Toronto," "Stopping the Incinerator, Starting the Movement," "Industrial Domestication," "France: May '68," "Deep Ecology Debate Continues: Earth Firsters Respond," Zerzan's "Agriculture: Essence of Civilization," E. B. Maple on Ed Abbey.

#330 (Winter 1988-89)—"Palestine: The Future of a Rebellion," "Live Wild or Die—The Other Earth First!" Bob Brubaker and John Zerzan debate agriculture, critique of the theory of capitalist decadence, articles on the Yellowstone fires, anarchy in Korea, the 1988 elections, anti-incinerator strategies, poetry, more.

#331 (Spring 1989)—Special issue on deep ecology and environmental ethics: David Watson's "Return of the Son of Deep Ecology: The Ethics of Permanent Crisis and the Permanent Crisis in Ethics," "Cheerleaders for the Plague" (Earth First and AIDS), "The Question of Agriculture" (reply to Zerzan and others).

#332 (Summer 1989)—E.B. Maple's "Burn All Flags," "Ward Churchill's 'Unmasking the Custer Myth,'" "Anarchy on the Sacred 2" (continuing debate), Kropotkin on the French Revolution, articles on mass actions at the Nevada test site and Detroit trash incinerator, the San Francisco 1989 anarchist gathering, anarchist youth in the Spanish Revolution, poetry, more.

#333 (Winter 1990)—Watson's "Stopping the Industrial Hydra: Revolution Against the Megamachine," also "FE meets EPI in New Mexico," "The RSL Is Dead, Long Live the RSL," Gabriel Dumont's "China: The Mysterious Journey of the Democracy Movement," review of Wexler's *Emma Goldman in Exile*, debate on the 1989 SF anarchist gathering, more.

#334 (Summer 1990)—Earth Day Special insert includes Watson's "Earth Day? We Want a Festival of the Oppressed," Rudolf Bahro's "Who

SUPPORT THE FE & OWN A PIECE OF HISTORY: SPECIAL OFFER ON BACK ISSUES 1965-75

These random issues contain fascinating articles on '60s music and the counter-culture, radical movements (antwar, new left, black revolutionary, feminist, etc.), GI revolts, government repression, sexual revolution, weird ads, comics, more. The papers are old but in decent shape. Mixed assortment for \$2 each, 3 for \$5, 10 for \$10, 20 for \$15, 40 for \$25.

Can Stop the Apocalypse?" Maple's critique of recycling and liberal reform), also "Bombing Won't Stop Redwood Summer," "Earth Day Action," David Porter on Emma Goldman, David Watson and Allan Foster on Fredy Perlman, Rob Blurt on the Black Panthers and Michael Moore, anarchy in Italy, more.

#335 (Winter 1990-91)—M. Rashid's "Detroit: Demolished by Design," "War in Iraq: Imperial Death Trip to Nowhere," Alice Detroit on "The Anarchist Spectre in Eastern Europe," exchange on environmentalism and revolution, "The Sand Creek Massacre," "The Collapse of the Armed Forces in Vietnam," articles on Redwood Summer and the split in Earth First!, book reviews, more.

#336 (Spring 1991)—David Watson's "Civilization in Bulk: Empire & Ecological Destruction," and "These Are Not Our Troops, This Is Not Our Country," Maple's "Why the U.S. Destroyed Iraq," "The Lessons of Vietnam," Blurt on "Marked Cards in the Middle East," also Murray Bookchin's "The Myth of the Party," French Radical Saboteur Prison Project, Sunfrog's "Operation Gender Blur," much more. One of our best issues!

#337 (Summer 1991)—E.B. Maple's "Post-War Postmortem—How the U.S. Got Away with It," Mitchell Cohen on Gulf War resisters, Graham Purchase on "Kropotkin's Metaphysics of Nature," poetry, book reviews of John Seed and Joanna Macey, John Moore, Ed Abbey and Ken Knabb/Kenneth Rexroth, critique of Noam Chomsky, etc.

#338 (Winter 1992)—"Platitude and Penury in Detroit," "Patriarchy and Progress" (Aniel Saleh interviews German ecotomist Maria Mies), articles on People's Park, Gulf War resisters, pirate radio in Detroit, James Bay II, Germal Garcia, Attica, poetry, book reviews, etc.

#339 (Spring 1992)—Watson's "The Fall of Communism: The Triumph of Capital," Jack Straw on Oliver Stone's *JFK*, Mary Wildwood on Jerry Mander, articles on Alexander Berkman, AIDS, bioregionalism, Spanish anarchy-feminism, Leonard Peltier.

#340 (Autumn 1992)—Sunfrog on "Pornography & Pleasure," David Watson's "1992-1992: Fall of the 500-Year Reich," articles on anti-voting, Earth First!, LA riots, exchange on AIDS, exchange on marxism and ecotomism.

#341 (Spring 1993)—Max Cafard's classic "Surrealist Manifesto," Maple on Somalia, Watson on the 1992 elections, G. Doebler on Alexander Berkman, Mitchell Cohen on toxic imperialism, more.

#342 (Summer 1993)—Special issue on Dope, Queer Sex & Anarchy. Queer (de)Manifesto," "Will Marijuana Save World Capitalism," etc., also Maple's "We Get a Computer & Hate It," Sara Sakar on industrialism and the German greens, more.

#343 (Fall/Winter 1993)—Rob Blurt on Bosnia and Somalia, also "The Revolt of the Bats," On Gogol Boulevard (Anarchy in Eastern Europe), articles on the PLO/Israeli treaty, the McLibel campaign, the split in Love & Rage, repression in Chattanooga, reviews of Kotke's *The Final Empire* and Hakim Bey.

#344 (Summer 1994)—T. Fulano on the zapatistas, Blurt and Maple on America's romance with guns, interviews with Noam Chomsky and Godfrey Reggio, articles on Vietnam, the Kronstadt Rebellion, the LA earthquake, On Gogol Boulevard, *Daily Barbarian* insert (Watson's "Thoughts on the Disappearance of History," poetry by Alice Alousi, Richard Nixon obituary by Mr. Venom, more).

#345 (Winter 1995)—Watson's "Catching Fish in Chaotic Waters: Empire & Mass Society," also Sunfrog's "Treatise on Anarchy & the Net: Arguments for the Elimination of the Information Age," obituary of Guy Debord, On Gogol Boulevard, Hakim Bey on Permanent Autonomous Zones, special anti-nuke supplement including work by Perlman, Blurt, Maple, Fulano, etc.

#346 (Summer 1995)—David Watson and Richard Drinnon on Vietnam 20 years after the fall of Saigon, Maple on the militias, the Oklahoma Bombing and the Unabomber, On Gogol Boulevard, Zerzan on tv and *Ishmael*, Alan K. Raab on the 1919 Centralia Massacre, Rob Blurt on military mutinies, UK anti-road campaign, more.

#347 (Spring 1996)—Peter Werbe's "History of the FE," Max Cafard's "The Dragon of Brno: Fredy Perlman Against History's Leviathan," Michael William on nationalist plague in Quebec, Rob Blurt on WWI repression, E. B. Maple on the Detroit newspaper strike, Sunfrog on the mudpeople, articles on Leon Czolgosz, paradise gardening, book reviews on Arab-American women, bisexuality, recent poetry, etc.

Detroit Seen

Continued from page 4

Daily Barbarian, Babyfish Lost Its Mama, Bad Attitude, the Trumbullplex, the Marquis de Sade Brigade, the Second Street Players, the Uncooperative, the Grinning Duck Club, the Easy Space, the Freezer Theater, the Friends of Benjamin Mendoza y Amor, Protest and Survive, A Group of Friends, the Layabouts, the Blanks, the Evergreen Alliance, WEAVE, the Freeway Five, the Ever-

green 19, 404, . . . and the many other people projects and people we've probably missed.

You experienced the war, I experienced the revolution!" With these words our *compañero*, Federico Arcos, confronted three veterans of the communist-dominated International Brigades as part of a panel invited to comment on Ken Loach's film about

CA 94140; 415/923-1429.

Another anarchist publisher with a growing list of titles is III Publishing, best known for *The Last Days of Christ the Vampire* by J.G. Epcarius, the deliciously blasphemous tale of how some young anarchists confront the plans of the Savior for a big, blood meal. It's been re-published in a large format, with a new cover: \$10.

Anarchist Farm by Jane Doe, also \$10, is their newest offering extending the tale of Orwell's similarly titled book, Napoleon, the head pig of Animal Farm, is overthrown by his Doberman Praetorian guard and joins the Forest Defenders, a group of wild animals who carry out a series of Earth First!-type actions to stop logging.

They make common cause with their domesticated counterparts who are self-managing a farm after its human owner dies. It's filled with action in the forest and extends to the barnyard when the animals learn their farm is being put up for sale by humans. Although it occasionally makes one wince (animal characters have names like Judi Bear), it's a compelling allegory for what's going on now in the old-growth forests of northern California and Idaho.

III has issued a temporary tattoo to promote the book featuring a circle A symbol, free for the asking. For tattoos, books or catalog, contact them at PO Box 1581, Gualala CA 95445; 707/884-1818.

San Francisco's Bound Together Anarchist Book Store sponsored the wildly, successful, first Bay Area Anarchist Book Fair earlier this year and have scheduled a second one for Saturday, March 29, 1997, 10am to 6pm, at the SF County Fair Bldg., near 9th Ave. and Lincoln Way, in Golden Gate Park; admission is free.

An expected 2,000 people will see representatives from 50 anarchist and alternative book, zine, and publishing projects. There will be a cafe and bar, spoken word performances and visual displays, as well. A \$40 fee is requested from exhibitors; contact Anarchist Book Fair Committee, 1369 Haight St., SF CA 94117; 415/431-8355.

New Orleans' engaging *Meseschabe: The Journal of Surre(gion)alism*, has produced another lively issue, including poems by Barbara Mor, Joel Dailey, A. di Michele, Ray DiPalma, Ronnie Burk, and others. It also has interviews with Ed Sanders and Tom Dent, and reviews of work by Bob Kaufman and NOLA's "homeless guru-poet" Everett Maddox.

Detroiters will respond with special attention to Gil Helnick's harrowing story about being hit in the chest by random New Year's Eve gunfire (they apparently do it, too), as well as a tribute to Bob "Righteous" Rudnick by John Sinclair, former Detroitier (and former official Political Prisoner of the FE), "Remembering the Righteous One." Single issues are \$4 and subs are \$20/year Write *Meseschabe*, 1539 Crete Street, New Orleans LA 70119.

the Spanish revolution. *Land and Liberty*, following an April 13 showing. The movie depicts revolutionary fervor in 1936-37 Spain, concentrating particularly on a frontline workers' militia. They attempt to fight together without the social stratification of rank privilege, and the communist-dominated government endeavors to "militarize" them, to return them to hierarchy and the discipline of the barracks.

Sixty years ago, on July 18th, 1936, an attempted coup by fascist army officers in Spain sparked a revolution in that country, which became a three-year protracted civil war. *Land and Liberty* is the first major international film about the Spanish Civil War in the half-century since Gary Cooper starred in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Federico saw revolution and counter-revolution firsthand in Catalonia, including

innumerable instances of communists—supposed allies in the anti-fascist struggle—betraying the war effort and imprisoning or murdering anyone considered their rivals.

The Comintern, a council of world communist parties controlled by the Soviet Union, raised about 30,000 foreign volunteers to fight Spain as part of the International Brigades. Over 3,000 of these were Americans, who served in the Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, and Canadian Mackenzie-Papineau battalions, and the John Brown artillery battery, or with assorted medical units. All the panelists at the film discussion besides Federico had been Brigades members.

One of the other panelists acknowledged that his duties in Spain in the late 1930s consisted of driving a truck, and that he had not seen any revolutionary ferment as depicted in the movie. Another, a Hungarian combatant in the Brigades and now an American academic, spoke with the confident authority of a Communist turned Scholar. He was outraged that the film would question the necessity for military victory to precede revolution. For the three Brigades panelists, winning the war was the obvious and necessary priority. They took as an assumption that militarization of the "people in arms" was an absolute necessity to accomplish this goal.

Contradicting this, Federico pointed out that the principal goal of military training is to establish hierarchical social relations. Although acknowledging his respect for the idealism and sacrifice of those who had gone to Spain to fight fascism, Federico defended the film's anarchist sympathies. Marching in ranks and learning to salute merely inculcate obedience, leading to a cult of discipline.

Long before the Brigades arrived, Spanish workers had armed themselves as best they could, despite efforts of Republican government politicians, and successfully fought trained regular soldiers of the fascists. In fact, armed workers saved many of Spain's major cities for the Republic, including Madrid and Barcelona, during



"A Dios rogando . . . y con el fusil dando" (To God praying, and with the rifle slaying) Graphic by Alfredo Monrós. In one of the most powerful scenes of Ken Loach's film *Land and Liberty*, the POUM militia liberates a village from the fascists. Women try to shepherd their children out of the near face-to-face crossfire in narrow streets between fascists and revolutionaries, and finally, a priest who was sniping from the church tower is captured and summarily executed at the edge of the village, where peasants had earlier been shot by fascists. Monrós' graphic testifies to the authenticity of the scene.

the revolution's early weeks.

At one point during the discussion, Federico referred to executions carried out by the International Brigades of their own men, a point hotly disputed by the academic panelist. The other two Brigades veterans seemed confused by this information, and stated they were unaware of any executions in the American battalions.

Since 1937, histories of the Spanish revolution have chronicled the counter-revolutionary violence employed by communists during the antifascist struggle. This work has been augmented by researchers sifting through the archival collections in the former Soviet Union for details from Spain. Documents seeping out of this long process have confirmed that American commissars in American Brigades units did carry out disciplinary executions. (See *The Secret World of American Communism*, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1995, for recently uncovered information.)

The climax of the panel discussion came when Federico, in a voice breaking with emotion, proclaimed how privileged he feels to have participated in an event where, "with one heart," the people of Barcelona rose to defend their city. The loudest outburst of applause that afternoon followed.

FE Note: See our next issue for an article on the militarization of the workers' militias during the Spanish revolution.

Detroit is on the verge of getting clobbered with the obscene, tax-subsidized construction not only of a new baseball stadium, but a second stadium to entice the Lions football team back into the city. The current national stadium frenzy is only one more striking sign of imperial decline. (Interestingly, Mike Ilitch, owner of the Detroit Tigers baseball team, also owns Little Caesar's Pizza, named appropriately for an infamous tyrant of the Roman Empire.)

When global life conditions are disintegrating precipitously, and war, hunger and

See Detroit Seen page 31

Kill The Car

Continued from page 4

tonly negligent abuse of land, the destruction of forests and farmlands, the oppressive alienation of exurban, car-generated pseudo-villages of strangers, a banal and empty personhood based on speeding from one blank, degraded place to another. Also, worsening air pollution and diminished human health: every car produced leaves fifty barrels of toxic wastes in the process of production, and that doesn't count the car itself, which is also a toxic product.

Car Production Is Suicide

To mention just one other health effect, each year the Big Three automakers use more than ten tons of mercury—one of the most deadly substances released into the environment by industrial production—for “convenience light” switches in cars. This is not an example of people destroying themselves to meet what might be thought their immediate, basic needs—for example, using petroleum in agriculture and basic transport of food and the like at least until some other more reasonable forms of sustainable life can emerge—but for the most trivial, kind of conditioned comfort. It is a madness that must eventually take the world's elites and their proletarians down together into oblivion—not through the mutual destruction of contending classes, as Marx once put it, but their mutual suicide through class collaboration to create a fundamentally pathological and unsustainable society.

Here in Detroit, one thinks of a particu-

larly repulsive display in the latest Labor Day parade down Woodward Avenue. There, auto workers waved from a motorized float draped in American flags and showcasing a red Ford Mustang (provided by the company). The fast car, usually seen harrying alone through some stunningly beautiful desert at sunset, an image familiar to anyone who has ever seen a commercial for the automobile, is every mass man's (and every mass woman's) most phryic psychic-sexual power fantasy. But the paved over cities of the future, contaminated and uninhabitable from what Henry Ford's invention has done to them, are the real, far less beautiful, lifeless landscape awaiting us.

As Ivan Illich argues, social and ecological conversion demand economic and industrial inversion. People are going to have to find better ways to spend their time than making and driving cars. Let us reiterate our desire to rid ourselves, once and for all, of that most representative creation of capitalism and everything that is most foul, imbecilic, and corrupt about it, most thoroughly destructive of the possibilities for genuine ecological and social harmony. Down with the Car Culture! Kill the Car!

FE NOTE: Though we have our differences with Jan Lundberg and *Auto-Free Times*, but we admire their project and support their idea of a paving moratorium. For a year's subscription/membership, which also covers occasional Road-Fighters' Alerts, send \$30 to Fossil Fuels Policy Action, P.O. Box 4347, Arcata, CA 95518. To inform the Alliance of any road-building schemes in need of defeat, write, or call (707) 826-7775. **No More Roads!**

Thoughts of Bookchin

Continued from page 23

alized upholders of a given system, be it that of the purest communism. . . . This desirable state of things could be prepared from now, if it were once for all frankly understood among Anarchists that both Communism and Individualism are equally important, equally permanent; and that the exclusive predominance of either of them would be the greatest misfortune that could befall mankind. From isolation we take refuge in solidarity, from too much society we seek relief in isolation: both solidarity and isolation are, each at the right moment, freedom and help to us. All human life vibrates between these two poles in endless varieties of oscillations.”²²

Endnotes

²²See Francis Feeley, *The French Anarchist Labor Movement and "La Vie Ouvrière," 1900-1914* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), p. 2; James Joll, *Europe Since 1870: An International History, Second Edition* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1976), pp. 53, 63; Sima Lieberman, *Labor Movements And Labor Thought: Spain, France, Germany, and the United States* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986), p. 204.

²³G.D.H. Cole, *Socialist Thought: Marxism and Anarchism 1850-1890, Volume II of A History of Socialist Thought* (London: Macmillan, 1954), pp. 163, 199, 211.

²⁴Max Stirner, *The Ego And His Own*, James J. Martin, ed. (New York: Libertarian Book Club, 1963), p. 74.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁶Herbert Read, *Anarchy And Order: Essays in Politics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 51.

²⁷Stirner, pp. 110-11.

²⁸Leopold H. Haimson and Charles Tilly, eds., *Strikes, Wars, And Revolutions in An International Perspective: Strike Waves in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Charles Tilly, Louise Tilly, and Richard Tilly, *The Rebellious Century 1830-1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1975), pp. 55, 57-59, 156, 213, 215, 226, 230; Jaap van Ginneken, *Crowds, Psychology, And Politics 1871-1899* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992), p. 169.

²⁹Robert J. Goldstein, *Political Repression in 19th Century Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), pp. 72-3, 292, 295, 314; Bernard Porter, *Plots And Paranoia: A History of Political Espionage in Britain 1790-1938* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1985), pp. 113-14, 117.

³⁰Max Nettlau, *Anarchy Through The Times* (New York: Gordon Press, 1979), p. 83.

³¹Emma Goldman, *Anarchism And Other Essays* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), p. 44.

³²Alexander Berkman, ed., *The Blast* 1(2) 22 January 1916.

³³Benjamin R. Tucker, *Instead Of A Book, By A Man Too Busy To Write One* (New York: Haskell House, 1969), p. 413.

New Earth First!

Continued from page 27

by privileging the question of population growth, Foreman and others ignored and tended to conceal the very social relations and forces that most needed to be examined by a movement calling itself radical.

I didn't even necessarily object to the misanthropy of deep ecologists, by the way; like them, I well understand John Muir's temptation to side with the bears in a war between species if that were possible. It was the smug, elitist, *selective* misanthropy of privileged North Americans, indifferent to human suffering (present company always excluded, of course), and claiming to identify only with nonhuman nature, while nevertheless proposing to close borders, for example, to protect “the resources we have in the USA” (Foreman's touching phrase) that outraged me. Misanthropy that sides with the powerful against the oppressed—be they human or nonhuman—is not a movement for the earth first but instead for one's own coterie.

I must confess that I didn't take Foreman's apology very seriously, either. In fact, I can't take the *Defending the Earth* dialogue between Foreman and Bookchin in New York City as much more than damage control on both their parts, with both consolidating their roles as stars in the social ecology/deep ecology fiasco. While Bookchin softened his uninformed ranting against deep ecology, he maintained his bipolar model of ecology politics. Foreman meanwhile tailored his presentation to his progressive left audience, but as any careful reading of the text reveals, he did not much change his views. He continues to tout (and to sell) William Catton's deeply flawed and conservative book *Overshoot* without having responded to any of our critical challenges to its shallow conception of carrying capacity.

In any event, those of us in the ecology movement who rejected Foreman's yankee doodle version of biocentrism weren't seeking apologies, but rather to sharpen the political understanding of the movement and to push it in a more comprehensive, more holistic, if you will, level of radical engagement. As soon as we did so, we began to discover Earth First!ers like Judy Bari and others who shared our concerns and who were involved in changing the group from the inside. The EF! you know, which I consider to be one of the most important influences in the radicalization of young people in the U.S. today, is largely a result of all those efforts.

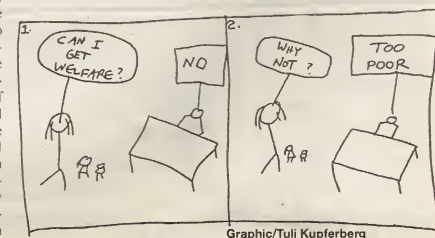
A reactionary malhusian politics has indeed reeled among radical ecological activists, a process to which I believe the FE contributed. Even Paul and Anne Ehrlich, famous for *The Population Bomb*, have recently rethought their population control politics, arguing for such responses to rising population as land reform, women's liberation and improvements in the health and well-

being of poor rural people in the Third World—recommendations which we, following hunger activists, ecofeminists and others, made against Foreman's elitist starvationism. (See their *The Stork and the Plow: The Equity Answer to the Human Dilemma* [1996].) Certainly, the well-known ascending J-curve of human numbers, occurring at a time when myriad other species are being obliterated by human activity, is grievous, and worthy of our impassioned concern. Nor is the belief that these human numbers are a (or the) main cause of the crisis dishonorable. But it can lead to potentially harmful errors in our thinking and our practice.

I think of an article I saw not too long ago in *The Earth Island Journal* (which has generally been good at seeing the connections between different issues); in what is mostly a sober and reasonable discussion about the ecological impact of babies born in the industrialized U.S., we find the downright silly suggestion that, “The most effective way an individual can protect the well being of all people, is to abstain from creating another human.” This kind of numbers crunching misses the point entirely; it is not the passive choices of individuals but the active engagement of people working collectively that will effect change. Indeed, sheer numbers are not our greatest problem, but rather the global chaos brought about by capitalism that is destroying organic societies, turning hundreds of millions of people into refugees, detriahizing and retribahizing whole populations into numerous contending empires, and establishing a planetary megatechic mass society. Absolute numbers are an increasingly aggravating factor in this process, but they are not the underlying pathology itself.

As the current immigration hysteria in this country makes clear, when an abstraction like carrying capacity can be employed to justify the abandonment of hungry populations the empire itself has rendered superfluous, and to divert people from making useful alliances into defending their hunkers (often from those they have collaborated in dispossessing), the misuses of ecology and subsequent dangers to authentic radical transformation can be terrifying. An ecofascism is not only possible, ecofascist ideology has emerged in Europe and the U.S. “Too many people” can only serve reactionary impulses if this obvious insight is not grounded in a loyalty to the ethical principles of human solidarity. We must avoid the tendency to hierarchize the problem, moving from so-called social issues to biological or in the contrary direction, rather than seeing them as interrelated and interdependent. We have to think creatively about the interrelationships between all the interlocking crises, within a constellation of ethical, social and ecological commitments. Everything depends on our success, and so far neither our theory nor our practice has proved adequate to the task. But we are learning.

narrow interests, against other workers and even against the common good, to fighting for the whole community.



Graph/Tuli Kupferberg

T/SOR/4/147

INSIDE: Judi Bari, Animals & Us, Russian Anarchist Art,
Bookchin Agonistes, History of the Black Flag, The Rumble

Fifth estate

Vol. 32 #1 (349)

Summer 1997

\$2.00

Mother Russia Now

Illustration: Richard Mock



Stoney Point

Reclaims Land and Voice

STONE POINT, Ont.—Marcia Simon's home is the barracks building that, until July 1995, was the Catholic chapel at Camp Ipperwash, a Canadian army military training base located in southwestern Ontario, 120 miles from Detroit, on the Lake Huron shoreline.

Simon actually lives in the small rear section of the building heated by a wood stove she and her son installed. The room is cluttered with files, boxes and crates containing documents on everything from the history of the Stoney Point reoccupation to translations of native teachings. Besides doing speaking tours and interviews to tell the Stoney Point people's story, Simon is transforming the chapel into a native cultural resource center and library.

It's February and when she opens the door to the spacious, unheated main chapel, a blast of cold air rushes in. Inside, the walls are posted with more news clippings and photos, and surrounding several tightly-packed bookshelves are more crates of books and unassembled shelving units. Simon figures the former confessional boxes can be used as study carrels. "See," she knocks on the interior paneling, "already soundproofed."

Back in the living quarters, a friend from Toronto's Anti-Racism Coalition is photocopying and organizing news stories and reports while a VCR copies a documentary on the native standoff at Gustafsen Lake in British Columbia to be sent to the First Nation people on Walpole Island 50 miles away in Lake St. Clair.

Center of Their Struggle

For Simon, a teacher of the Ojibwa language, "the recovery and teaching of the old ways" is at the center of the Stoney Point community's struggle for self-determination. This means educating themselves and others about their own history and about other native movements as well. She sees the many groundless charges brought by local police as a tactic by the government "to keep our people's time and energy tied up in the courts," obstructing the community-building work so vital to their movement.

Simon cites the multiple charges of forcible detainment and entry stemming from the infamous night of September 6, 1995 when police opened fire on unarmed Stoney Point protesters, wounding two and killing her cousin, Dudley George. Forty-three of those charges were withdrawn by the Crown on the first morning of the trial, when the government acknowledged it had no legal basis for winning its case.

A month prior to the shootings on July 29, 1995, and two years after the initial native reoccupation of the surrounding



Dudley George, central figure in the Stoney Point land rights movement, killed by Ontario police. —graphic/Kathleen Rashid

grounds, about one hundred members of the Stoney Point First Nation moved onto the Ipperwash military barracks on the southwest corner of the reserve, evicting approximately twenty military personnel. The Stoney Pointers mistrusted the federal government's promise that the land would be returned as soon as negotiations

A young Stoney Pointer finally asserted their land rights by driving a bus through the door of the army drill hall.

for environmental cleanup were completed, seeing it as another in a series of stalling ploys.

As military surveillance and harassment continued, tensions ran high and patience ran out. A young Stoney Pointer finally asserted their land rights by driving a bus through the door of the army drill hall. The action succeeded in bringing attention to the Stoney Point people's demand for an immediate and serious response to their claim. After the bus was rammed from behind by a military jeep, and the driver and passenger sprayed with pepper gas, two Oneida First Nation conciliators advised military withdrawal as the only reasonable solution to the standoff. The following morning the front page of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* featured a photo of Marcia Simon shaking hands with the base commander as he surrendered the compound.

Then, on September 4, after the adjacent Ipperwash Provincial Park was closed for the season, the Stoney Pointers moved onto the park land, where their ancestral burial grounds are located, to recover the rest of the territory lost over the last sixty years. The next day, recently elected right-wing Ontario Premier Mike Harris held a high-level meeting with various provincial officials and police in which, according to the *Toronto Star* as well as several

independent sources, he ordered them to "get the fucking Indians out of the park, even if you have to use your weapons." In a scenario too reminiscent of the setup at Pine Ridge, the Ontario Provincial Police began a massive buildup of force including snipers, a riot squad and a tactical response unit armed with machine guns. The OPP also contacted the Canadian Army for assistance requesting fifty gas masks, and night-vision goggles, one hundred bulletproof vests, two Huey helicopters and two Bison personnel carriers.

On the following evening of September 6, a neighboring "Kettle and Stoney Point" band councilor, publicly hostile to the Stoney Pointers (see chronology this page), was involved in a confrontation with the people reoccupying the park. At 8:19 p.m. he made a complaint of assault to the OPP. The police responded with a force of over 250 armed personnel against the approximately 35 unarmed Stoney Pointers present. Eye witnesses say that after 40 riot police broke formation and attacked the protesters, a Stoney Point youth drove a bus between the two groups in an attempt to separate them. It was then that police opened fire, injuring the bus driver, Dudley George, some distance from the bus, was mortally wounded.

Scene of Police Violence

Though the state had brought in every imaginable kind of military vehicle, no ambulances were provided. Dudley's brother and sister had to drive him to the hospital themselves in a '77 Chevy, which soon developed a flat tire. When they finally reached the hospital, both brother and sister were immediately arrested and jailed for attempted murder. By the time they were released the next morning their brother Dudley was dead. Back at the scene of the violence, Stoney Point witnesses counted 50 empty liquor bottles around the campfire where police had assembled the evening before.

Background on Stoney Point

In 1942, the Canadian Department of National Defense invoked the War Measures Act to seize the land of the Potawatomi people of Stoney Point Reserve and established an "advanced infantry training center." Many of the displaced native people were crowded onto the neighboring Kettle Point Reserve. The rest scattered throughout Ontario in search of homes and jobs, often in unfamiliar and hostile urban areas.

The relocation was supposed to be temporary, the Canadian government stating that "if at the termination of the war, no further use of the area is required by the Department of National Defense, negotiations will be entered into with the Department of Indian Affairs to transfer the lands back to the Indians at a reasonable price." However, in 1946, the infantry training center closed, and the land was not used again until 1960 when it opened as a six-week summer training camp for military cadets.

Meanwhile, the Stoney Point people petitioned unsuccessfully for the return of their land until finally, in 1992, the federal government admitted the reasons for its continued occupation of Stoney Point land were "spurious and without substance." It had, however, already negotiated a \$2.4 million settlement with the Kettle Point Reserve, refusing to recognize the Stoney Point people as a separate community.

The leadership of the Kettle Point First Nation cooperated in the government's plan to extinguish the distinct voice and identity of the Stoney Point First Nation by changing its name to "Kettle and Stoney Point."

In May 1993, 50 years after the relocation, a group of Stoney Point people including some of the original residents entered the military grounds and, setting up tents and shelters, re-occupied their Stoney Point homeland.

Marcia remembers that night as terrifying, tragic and bizarre. She wasn't present at the scene of the shootings, but knowing a serious confrontation was developing, she and her mother drove toward it, hoping, as elders and women, to help maintain calm. But they soon met Stoney Pointers driving toward them and away from the disturbance, yelling frantically for them to turn back, saying, "the cops are shooting everything up, and some people have holes in them."

Marcia immediately headed toward the nearest phone booth to call for ambulances, since telephone service at the former base had been unlawfully cut by authorities after the takeover. Her mother looked back to see the police cars in pursuit and guns leveled at them. But, Marcia says, "I figured once they saw I was only trying to call for medical help, they'd withdraw their guns."

Once inside the phone booth, however, she turned to see police aiming shotguns at her from all directions. To her desperate demand for ambulances and media coverage for protection, the operator replied that she would connect her with the police. "It's the police that are shooting us!" Marcia cried. She was grabbed violently from behind, thrown on a cruiser's hood and forced to the ground. She was handcuffed so tightly that circulation was cut in her wrist, still healing from bone graft surgery. The officers rained angry threats on her mother when she urged

Continued on Page 9

Tales From The Planet



The Saigon Times reports work will begin next year on a north-south expressway along the route of the old Ho Chi Minh Trail. Vietnamese Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet has called for a mass labor program to build the 1,125-mile road. This was a retreat from his original plan to build a trunk road down the west side of the Truong Son Mountains, which would have cost \$6 billion, half the country's annual national income.

According to a February 26 Reuters report, "both local and foreign experts have questioned the economic sense of drafting millions of workers to build the new road." Hanoi, which has a compulsory labor program for young people to work ten days a year or pay an exemption fee, recently announced plans to expand the age group subject to the program and allowing provincial and city authorities to set their own exemption fees.

Apparently, *The Auto Free Times* (P.O. Box 4347, Arcata CA 95518) has not made it to Vietnam. A twentieth century version of the ancient tyrant's ziggurat, the modern expressway is a society's ultimate status symbol and promise of technotopian progress. The Vietnamese commissars want to get on the treadmill, following the industrialized/industrializing world to automobility. Perhaps they'll build rest stops with McDonald's golden arches, or, build a ziggurat-shaped casino at the end of their highway.

Speaking of Vietnam, we missed mentioning the death last fall of one of Presidents Kennedy's and Johnson's key foreign policy advisers, McGeorge Bundy. Bundy continued the tradition of the U.S. war criminals dying of natural causes at a ripe old age.

High-born and groomed for rule in the nation's most elite schools, Bundy personified what journalist David Halberstam described as "the best and the brightest"—the aggressive and intellectual policy-makers who became the central architects of the U.S. war in Vietnam. After leaving the government in 1965, Bundy worked in other ruling class institutions such as the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation.

As national security adviser, Bundy was considered to be, as Halberstam called him, "perhaps the brightest star in the galaxy of brilliant young men who were going to change the course of the country." It was this "bright star" who recommended a policy of "sustained reprisal against North Vietnam" for resistance to the U.S. invasion and puppet regime in the south.

"We cannot assert that the policy of sustained reprisal will succeed in changing the course of the contest in Vietnam," wrote Bundy in a now-famous memorandum dated February 7, 1965. "What we can say is that even if it fails, the policy will be worth it. At a minimum it will damp down the charge that we did not do all that we could have done, and this charge

will be important in many countries, including our own. Beyond that, a reprisal policy—to the extent that it demonstrates U.S. willingness to employ this new norm in counter-insurgency—will set a higher price for the future upon all adventures of guerrilla warfare, and it should therefore somewhat increase our ability to deter such adventures."

According to the memoirs of that other war criminal, former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, Bundy also recommended "graduated and sustained bombing". (Indochina soon became the most intensely bombed region on earth) and even suggested at one point that the U.S. threaten to use nuclear weapons to achieve its objectives in negotiations.

Bundy's policy—essentially one of "destroying the country to save it"—was followed to the bitter end. If Vietnam could not be "pacified" and reconquered, it would serve just as well as an object lesson for any upstart nationalist or radical movements in the third world trying to break out of the imperialist harness.

As Noam Chomsky has noted (particularly in an excellent essay written in 1985, "Forgotten History of the War in Vietnam"), it could be argued that the U.S. thus gained a "partial victory, and a very significant one," and achieved its central aims.

The prime worry of planners was not Vietnam itself, Chomsky writes, "but 'the rot would spread'—the 'rot' of nationalist revolt and independence from U.S. global strategic and corporate control. "It was feared that this might have a demonstration effect," he points out, which meant the need for the U.S. to create its own "demonstration effect."

Thus, control over surrounding regions was extended while the U.S. war machine pulverized Indochina. The year Bundy's memorandum was written, the CIA fomented a military coup against the independent nationalist government of Sukarno in Indonesia, in which a million people were killed. Chomsky notes that the strategy worked, and it was reused throughout the 1980s when the U.S. used its Big Stick on Nicaragua to send a message to Latin American independentistas of all stripes.

Bundy was therefore the chief strategist not only for the U.S. genocide in Indochina, but of an ongoing policy of massacre and mayhem carried out since then against any small country daring to bolt from the flock. In later years, Bundy became an arms control advocate, piously posing as an elder statesman for peace.

Of course, he called for a Nuclear Freeze only to argue for a more streamlined, better managed war machine. He was the same bureaucrat who had argued in the 1960s, "As important as having strength is knowing how to use it." McGeorge Bundy was not just following orders, he conceptualized them.

Millions paid the price.



Two of five people who scurried into the Big Mama tunnel dug beneath the site of an English road extension near Fairmile, Devon by protesters to block excavation. Not only is nature under attack, the Devon extension would also tear up ancient Celt burial grounds. It took 150 police 12 hours to remove tunnelers and numerous tree sitters above who were resisting the building project on January 23. Organized road opposition and the Reclaim the Streets movement in England have grown enormously as the government attempts to pave what's left of the British countryside. Contact: A30 Action!, POB 6, Ottery St. Mary, Devon EX11 1YL England.

—photo and info: Alex Smart

In January 1996, four editors of *Green Anarchist*, the editor of the *Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group Newsletter*, and ALF press officer Robin Webb were arrested by Special Branch, the British secret police, for conspiracy to incite criminal damage. According to StateWatch, "Britain has the most repressive conspiracy laws in Europe."

Gandalf defendants (from GA and ALF) could face ten years in jail yet in order to be convicted, no damage need have been done or anyone proven to be "incited" to cause damage. The people charged need not know anyone doing actual damage or even each other. The defendants have to prove they *did not intend to incite damage*, a difficult task for anyone writing about and acting on animal liberation or doing support for animal liberation militants and jailed animal advocates.

After a preliminary hearing in December, charges against Webb were dropped since prosecutors conceded he was essentially being tried on evidence presented at a 1995 trial for charges on which he was acquitted. The state's case was severely damaged by this blow, but charges against the other five remain in effect as we go to press.

The Gandalf Five need support, including cash donations. Cash or blank postal orders are preferred, and checks should be payable to "Gandalf Defendants Campaign." For materials about the case, contact Gandalf Defendants Campaign, P.O. Box 66, Stevenage SG1 2TR, England.

State governments in the U.S. exercise their right to legal murder by executing prisoners. When one is scheduled, the New York City-based Living Theatre organizes a protest in Times Square to object to them. For forty years in the U.S. and abroad, the Living Theatre has combined artistic communication and social activism to promote the anarchist ideals of its members. Founders of the theater were Judith Malina and Julian Beck. Judith has repeatedly asserted that her lifelong goal is to spread information about the "wondrous anarchist revolution."

In Times Square, not surprisingly, the protesters, often few in number, encounter people highly antagonistic to their po-

sition questioning state authority. Judith reports that "these aggressive types hurl sexual epithets (often, not very original ones); and those who just want us to disappear shout: 'Go back to Russia!'"

When an open-minded individual inquires about getting out of this circle of violence, solutions different from those offered by the hierarchy's power brokers are offered. Living Theatre members advocate a commitment between individuals. They propose that the protester and the passerby make a mutual pledge they "will never kill each other."

Judith's eyes light up as she points out the implications of such a pledge. "It means you can never use a gun, can never serve in an army. Or be a prison guard. After all, there could be a riot in a prison where I'm held and you could be required to use weapons to put it down."

Fifth estate

The Fifth Estate is a cooperative, nonprofit project, publishing since 1965. The people who produce it are a group of friends who do so neither to secure wages nor as an investment in the newspaper industry, but to encourage resistance to an unjust and destructive society.



The Fifth Estate (ISSN No. 0015-0800) is published quarterly at 4632 Second Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48201 USA; Phone (313) 831-6800. Our office hours vary, so please call before visiting. Subscriptions are \$8.00 for four issues; \$10.00 foreign including Canada. Periodical mail postage paid at Detroit, Michigan. No copyright. No paid advertisements.

Postmaster: Send address changes to: Fifth Estate, 4632 Second Ave., Detroit MI 48201 USA.

The Culture is a Cult

by Sunfrog

The recent mass suicide by 39 members of the Heaven's Gate group created a fabulous media feeding frenzy of apocalyptic proportions. An occurrence as certifiably weird as this could not be confined to the check-out-counter tabloids: it was top-of-the-hour evening news wacky, cover of *Time* and *Newsweek* creepy. At the height of our virtual age, not even the scribes of comic books, pulp fiction and B-movies could cook up a scenario this fantastic.

Like a high-tech tragic tribal happening, Heaven's Gate provides talk-show caliber new age science fiction psychodrama that puts the old-school incense and chants of Hare Krishna to shame. But as the professional journalists and armchair pundits of mainstream America cast judgments and jokes towards that California mansion, or to the Internet, or to that comet in the sky, we must remember the peculiar nature of the culture in which Heaven's Gate and many other so-called cults emerge.

We live in the culture of cults. We are the weird. America, land of the fringe and home of the brash. David Duke. David Koresh. Tim McVeigh. Jack Kevorkian. The Freeman. Hell's Angels. The Ku Klux Klan. Charles Manson. Richard Nixon. O. J. Simpson. Jeffrey Dahmer. Compared to real murderers and messianic politicians like Hitler, Stalin and every United States president, Heaven's Gate leader "Do" Applewhite and his followers are rather harmless: lightweight androgynous neo-Christian cyber-geeks conducting a love-in with some cosmic light in the sky. Suicide is not murder, and when considered in the social context of postindustrial media culture at the end of the millennium, Heaven's Gate fits right in.

Whether people worship at church or the shopping mall, various legions in our ranks hold sacred illusions and pay homage to questionable idols like Television, War, 12-Step Programs, Drugs, Money and Work. On a continent that once was an island of magic and wilderness, we now live in a lifeless landscape dominated by concrete, metal and plastic. America abounds with chemical and social pollution. Consumer capitalism is the biggest cult of all.

History teems with messianic political leaders who lead men to die in war. Soldiers in one nation-state and their enemies in another die to serve the cult of patriotism, the devotion to flag and country acts as a drug as noxious as any phenobarbital pudding with a vodka chaser (the recipe which facilitated the Heaven's Gate demise). How many people die to serve the cult of the automobile, the cult of the airplane, the cult of nuclear power, the cult of agent orange, the cult of the cigarette, the cult of alcohol, the cult of work, the cult of bigotry and ignorance?

In this alienated and fragmented culture, as devoid of meaning as it is filled with data, is it any wonder that people seek genuine community in so-called "fringe" groups? Some of us who call ourselves anarchists and anti-authoritarians can fall prey to a vapid media voyeurism similar to the speculations about the "victims" of Heaven's Gate. The New Age has its "Do" Applewhite. Anarchists have their Unabomber.

Detroit Seen

Welcome to our Summer 1997 edition; the last one published was Fall 1996. This issue has been the result of numerous fruitful collaborations. Our visually stunning cover is the work of renowned artist Richard Mock. We used his work for the first time last issue and hope to have more in the future.

Pages 10-13, containing Allan Antliff's fascinating study of Russian anarchist artists of the revolution, was designed by Alexis Buss, a member of the Wooden Shoe collective in Philadelphia. See page 5 for details on the fire that destroyed their bookstore.

The four-page insert in this issue is the work of The Rumble collective, part of the ambitious Trumbull Theater project. They plan to publish it regularly, and for its inaugural edition, we printed an extra thousand for Detroit distribution.

We mourn the death in April of Allen Ginsberg, who had an enormous impact on our generation. Many of us remember exactly where we were on first reading many of his great poems such as "Howl" and "Kaddish." We plan to print two interviews with Allen in our next issue, one from the 1960s and a recent one.

Because we ran out of space and time we had to hold several articles until next issue, including David Watson on neoprimitivism and current "ecofascism" debates, Rob Blurton on social work, Peter Werbe on "How I Stopped Recycling and Learned to Love It," and Mitchell Cohen on the Gulf War Syndrome. It promises to be an exciting issue, but as usual we will need money to produce it. Please renew your sub or become an FE sustainer.

Max Cafard's review of Murray Bookchin's latest effort (see page 20) pretty clearly closes the book on him. We hope people will still read David Watson's *Beyond Bookchin* (see book pages) for the larger issues raised. We offered Murray space for an 1800-word reply to our critique of him, but he didn't respond. It's down to 1000, Murray. Last call.

We rarely join organizations, but several of us were members of the Downtown YMCA, housed in an 88-year-old landmark. The Y was a good place to work out, it had a modicum of community and, refreshingly, was also integrated. In one of this country's

One suicidal spiritual science fiction cult may seem simultaneously more odd and benign than the everyday cult of American culture at the end of the century: a religion of obedience more pervasive, dangerous and resilient than any freak on the fringe. Let the sci-fi faithful beam up to their spaceships. Let the religious zealots rapture. Our task is not to condemn or condone the deceased members of Heaven's Gate, but to ask tough questions about the quality of our own lives and the presence or absence of meaning, passion, and community in them.

It may take the destruction of industrial capitalism and modern civilization to realize the true potential of the human community, but we cannot wait for that day to cultivate a sense of family in our fragile radical milieu. Death to the culture of cults! Long live the experimental community of voluntary association, wilderness expansion and convivial anarchy.



graphic: Maurice Greenia

most segregated metropolitan areas, it was a place where whites and blacks mixed, made friends, and appreciated the all too rare contact. Detroit is a harsh city, and given that context, going to the Y tended to make life a little more humane and bearable.

But corporate neoliberalism is rapidly pulverizing and reconstituting whole landscapes on the whim of unmitigated greed, "ponzi"-style, and Detroit has not been spared. Following a blatantly manipulated and sparsely noticed referendum allowing public funds to be used for financing of two adjacent sports stadiums for multimillionaire, Little Caesar's Pizza owner Mike Ilitch, the Y, which stood at the

corner of the stadium parking lot, had to come down. YMCA officials proved what corporate boot-lickers they are, doing everything to unload the building and its programs as fast as they could.

The same kind of rapacious greed and corruption is evident in the slated destruction of the empty Hudson's Department Store on Woodward Avenue, Detroit's central thoroughfare. Once a showpiece of downtown commercialism, the City allowed it to be vandalized and stripped, but there was interest in restoring the serviceable, though architecturally unremarkable building, for other uses.

But Mayor Dennis Archer, who is becoming even more transparently shameless in his service to corporate looting than even his predecessor Coleman Young, manipulated City Council approval to demolish the building (which will cost anywhere from \$12 to 30 million), promising a "secret plan" for the site that everyone knows does not exist. (*Detroit Metro Times* investigative reporter Curt Guyette has done an excellent job reporting these landgrab schemes.)

Local surrealist poet and artist Maurice Greenia took advantage of the limbo state of Hudson's to create some graffiti art of beings and dream visions like his drawing above, covering the first floor panels of the boarded-up building.

Though he started in chalk, the City kept painting over his work (even though they could have simply washed it off). Now they've left it up, since the building is not to be with us long. We recommend a look at it while it's still there.



Newspaper strikers barricade a Detroit street as part of their campaign to "Shut Down Motown," a goal which may happen in June —photo: Rebecca Cook

Come to Detroit June 20-21

The almost two-year-old labor battle against the Motor City's two corporate daily papers is almost at its conclusion (see the first page of The Rumble insert for latest details). Belatedly, the national AFL-CIO has called for a mass mobilization in Detroit June 20 and 21 to demand an equitable settlement of the strike. Attendance is expected to be over a hundred thousand.

The AFL bureaucrats are planning a disciplined, flag-waving, all-American march up Woodward Ave., controlled exclusively by them. We and the Trumbull Theater group are inviting people to attend, but on a basis of self-organization in decision making and activity. We intend to define ourselves in the manner of the Active Resistance at the Chicago Democratic Convention last August (see Fall 1996 FE)—creative, joyful, militant and with a heavy dose of radical culture at the theater and in the streets. Also, a lot of strikers have become radicalized by their clash with the corporations, cops, scabs and company goon squads, so the sky's the limit.

Right now plans are minimal and provisions for housing, food, etc. that were well provided for in Chicago are nonexistent except for crash space at the Trumbull. Call the Theater at 313/831-6150 or write 4208 Trumbull Ave., Detroit MI 48207. For march info, contact the IWW, 103 W. Michigan, Ypsilanti MI 48197; ph: 313/483-3548

Judi Bari Lives!

"My ideals will live long after I am dead."—Emma Goldman

In a moving memorial to his dear friend and comrade Judi Bari (in the March 1997 *Earth First! Journal*), Darryl Cherney writes that he was plagued by a number of unsettling signs before her death, including the crash of an enormous old-growth redwood to the forest floor on a windless night near the Earth First! base camp in Myers Flat, California. That redwood turned out to be Judi Bari, whose death meant not only a terrible loss to her children and her family, to her community and the movement, but to the earth.

Judi Bari was one of those exceedingly rare and irreplaceable individuals who appear when social conditions call them up. Her organizational creativity, her pragmatic common sense, her energy, her humor, her sterling principles, her steadfast will and her extraordinary courage were inspiring to us all. She made every moment count—not only for the movement to save the planet and a human community worth living in, but, as we are told as well by those who knew her personally, for her children, friends and community.

The land-killers at Maxxam and other corporate headquarters were surely popping the champagne corks when they heard the news of her death, because Judi, more than any other person in recent memory, was able to strike fear into the hearts of the people responsible for liquidating America's forests. Like others who have challenged their power, they saw her as a threat and that was why they tried to kill her. Their bomb and their other attempts (like trying to run her and her young daughters off the road) to silence and stop Judi failed. Told she'd never walk after being permanently disabled by the bombing, she struggled and eventually did walk. But in the end she was felled by the chemical roulette presently undermining life everywhere, from the maples in the eastern forests to the seals in the North Sea to our loved ones dying from myriad, likely chemical-induced, illnesses.

We always admired Judi Bari's accomplishments and her dedication. We also respected her original mix of blue collar militance and deep ecology. We especially admired her spirit. When Peter Werbe interviewed her on his radio program here after her cancer had been disclosed, she sounded matter-of-fact and tough when talking about recent Earth First! actions. Friends in California have told us that she sounded perfectly well talking on her own local radio show in the weeks before her death. We heard she was strong and buoyant to the end. Movement friends tell us that as death approached, she quoted after IWW martyr Joe Hill, "Don't mourn, organize." But Darryl reported to a friend here in Detroit that what Judi had actually said with a laugh to hippie Earth First! friends was, "Don't Om, organize."



Judi Bari 1949-1997

"I think our collective safety is more important that our personal safety. And the fate of the forest is more important than the fate of me . . . And if I stop doing it then they don't have to kill me. They've succeeded."

Emma Goldman once remarked, "Life without an ideal is spiritual death." Judi Bari's body lies dead but she was not silenced. Her message and the memory of her exemplary life will last as long as the vision of a free society in harmony with the natural world does. Her friends will carry on the real work to which she gave her life. And others will appear who are needed. But we cannot wait for them to appear. We must find ways to carry on, for Judi, and for ourselves. We need to make every moment count.

Our condolences go out to Judi's family and friends. Besides staying active, people can memorialize her by donating to the Judi Bari Trust Fund (for her two daughters) c/o the Mendocino Environmental Center, 106 West Standley, Ukiah CA 95482 (checks earmarked to the fund), or to the Redwood Justice Fund (to support Darryl's and Judi's lawsuit against the FBI) at P.O. Box 14720, Santa Rosa CA 95402. The FE Bookstore is selling copies of her book, *Timber Wars* (Common Courage Press), all proceeds to go the Redwood Justice Fund. We hope to organize a benefit for it this summer.

—D. W.

Judi in Her Own Words

On Redwood Summer: "We radicalized a lot of people . . . As far as Earth First! goes, this was the longest, largest, most sustained campaign that we've done. The Fort Bragg demonstration [on July 21, 1990 at Georgia-Pacific's pulp mill] was the largest demonstration that Earth First! has ever had in this country."

"Did we stop the logging? No, we didn't stop the logging. They cut twenty years worth of trees [that] summer. But we brought this issue to national attention, to international attention on a scale that it's never been done before . . . I think the contention that 'you didn't stop the logging' is a ridiculous statement. They never went up to each anti-war demonstration

during the Vietnam era and said, 'The movement failed because you didn't stop the war with this particular demonstration!' It's not a question of a particular demonstration . . . It's more of a cumulative effect. And I think that we've really raised the level of awareness, raised the whole stakes through Redwood Summer to a level that it never was before."

On environmentalism and elitism: "The [environmental movement] tended to be privileged people. Dave Foreman's a perfect example. They want to save wilderness so they can enjoy it on backpacking trips, which in itself is a class privilege. Black people in the ghetto don't worry about wilderness because, number one, they can't get to it, and number two, the issues of survival are so predominant for them . . . So even worrying about wilderness is a class privilege in this society."

"When the environmental movement began it was primarily focused on saving scenery. But the destruction of the earth has reached such proportions that it's threatening the very life support systems. . . . The destruction of the earth is becoming a primary issue for poor and working people, too, because they have to bear the brunt of it. Anything that gets destroyed the rich people pass down the line . . ."

"Our society has been built on the exploitation of both the lower classes and the earth. I would differ from Marx there. Marx says that all value derives from labor. I think that he's incorrect . . . that value derives from labor and the earth. And profits are gained by not paying the workers the value of their labor, and by taking from the earth in a manner that doesn't replace it . . ."

On why she became a radical environmentalist: "I found myself looking at truckload after truckload of Redwood trees being hauled out of the forest. Thousand-year-old trees that

take up the whole truck, all the way down to tiny little trees six inches across that they are using to feed the chip mills. And it was an appalling sight . . . It is really hard to sit there and witness the destruction of the forest. You become obsessed with it."

On Earth First! women: "One of the things we accomplished in Redwood Summer is what I refer to as the feminization of Earth First! . . . We're not just trying to depose the male leadership. We're trying to change the style of leadership so that it's a collective style and not dependent on glorifying individual personalities . . ."

"The former strategies of Earth First! included a reliance on individual acts of bravado. That was the basic strategy. We'll get some brave guy to climb way up in a tree and we'll get in the newspaper for it. Or we'll sneak around in the night and sabotage bulldozers . . . And that whole little macho scenario wasn't designed for mass organizing . . . As one friend of mine so aptly worded it, 'The question is, is it earth first, or Earth First! first?' These people see it as this little clique, and they want to preserve its purity at the expense of its effectiveness. The question to me is, 'Do we want to save the planet, or do we want to form a little elite corps?' If we want to save the planet, we need to address root causes, including patriarchy and the destructive, exploitative society. We can't separate it . . ."

On her "woman-identified" radical feminism: "Have the unfortunate experience of being born heterosexual, loving women and not being able to stand men. The night before the bombing, I told Darryl [Cherney] that he'd better change the slide show because it was too male-identified, and that a lot of the organizers in Santa Cruz were lesbians. And he said something like, 'Well not all of the organizers are lesbians.' I replied, 'Yes, Darryl, only the lucky ones.'"

On the FBI: "The FBI asked what they could do to regain my trust. I said they could find the bomb and fire him."

On her music: "One of the things that attracted me to Earth First! was its use of music. It is a tremendously powerful thing that brings out the spirit and joy of the movement. We are trying to create a better world where there is more joy; there isn't much joy in a world of clear cuts and layoffs. Finding my body broken, my life disrupted, snatched away from my rural environment and taken away from my family, one of the only ways I have been able to endure is to be able to play music. I am not as bad off as I was during the six weeks [after the bombing], but there [were] some real times of despair for me there, and sometimes the only thing that would pull me through was playing music."

On efforts to build an alliance with mill workers: "Mill workers and loggers have told me they think I was the target [of the bombing] because I was able to draw a connection and actually work together with them. Most of the work that I did with them was anonymous, and it was very serious work. It was not the kind of thing that got into the media at all—ever. I tried to find the people who were already radical, and all that I tried to do was offer them a space in the movement so they could organize them-

selves."

On class society and the fate of the earth: "The lower classes are getting much more poisoned than the upper classes. But [this is] not really a class struggle in the traditional way, although I certainly think that class society is the cause of the problem and the upper classes, not the lower classes, are to blame. However, we're not trying to fight for the elevation of one particular class of humans over another class of humans."

We're trying to learn to live on the earth in a way that doesn't destroy the earth, in a society that recognizes equal rights, not only of all people but of all species. It's different from other class struggles in that the Wobblies, for example, were fighting for the benefit of the working class. Well, if they continue the way they're doing, Charles Hurwitz is going to be just as dead as we are. And Harry Merlo's kids are going to inherit just as bad of a world. So environmental destruction ultimately cuts across class lines. That doesn't mean we need to organize among the ruling class and the yuppies. We need to organize among the people who are not benefiting from it, and that's the lower classes. . . .

"One of the results of Redwood Summer is that these issues have been raised, including the issue of who is at fault. So what followed Redwood Summer was

"One of the things that attracted me to Earth First! was its use of music. We are trying to create a better world where there is more joy; there isn't much joy in a world of clear cuts and layoffs. Finding my body broken, my life disrupted, one of the only ways I have been able to endure is to be able to play music."

"Corporate Fall" [which was followed by "Nuclear Winter" at the Nevada Test Site]. We held a demonstration in September after Louisiana-Pacific went in and logged Osprey Grove by the Navarro River [an old-growth forest which environmentalists were negotiating to buy]. We listed LP's corporate crimes, and we said that the individuals need to be held responsible—that this isn't a faceless corporation. Our slogan is: '[The earth]'s not dying, it's being killed. And the people who are killing it have names and addresses!' That's a quote from [TWW songwriter] Utah Phillips. . . .

"[Workers] have good reason to be scared. But what I'm seeing among some of the timber workers is more criticism of

the corporations than before. There's an opportunity to rebuild the alliance that we had started to build before, and I hope to be able to work on that. It's not glory work, it's not publicized. . . it's slow, and I think that's the most important work that I can do."

On the bombing: "We know that the system is enforced by violence. And if we are effectively challenging the system then it's not surprising that they're going to use violence against us. The people from the American Indian Movement said, 'Violence isn't a choice for us. It's like the weather. It just happens.' It's part of the powers that be, and it's some-

thing that we're trying to change about this society. But with that knowledge of what this society is and how brutal they really are, if as soon as they start doing that to us we drop out then we're defeated."

"I don't see how we can support the people of El Salvador and be so easily intimidated fighting the battles here. I'm not trying to take away from El Salvador solidarity work. . . I was regional coordinator for the Pledge of Resistance. But I think we are effectively helping the people of El Salvador by fighting the battles here. Okay, well how can we do that if all they have to do is the slightest thing to us and we back down?"

When I look at the courage of the comrades in El Salvador, when I look at the people in South Africa and the things they have to put up with, then our problems pale by comparison and we are still very privileged. And if we are serious about it. . . I mean the alternative is that they are going to kill the earth and everything on it! . . . Either we are going to stand up to them or everything is going to go. We need to exhibit both personal and collective courage because that's the only way we are going to survive." I think our collective safety is more important than our personal safety. And the fate of the forest is more important than the fate of me. . . And if I stop doing it then they don't have to kill me. They've succeeded."

FBI Lab Scandal Adds Fuel to Charges of Agency Complicity in Earth First! Bomb Case

OAKLAND, CA—Amid revelations that the FBI crime lab routinely manipulated scientific evidence for political ends, the FBI and Oakland, Calif. Police have been charged with deliberately falsifying evidence in their investigation of the 1990 car bombing of Earth First! activists Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney in a brief filed March 18 by their lawyers.

The brief accompanied a motion calling on U.S. District Court Judge Claudia Wilken to deny the FBI and Oakland claims of immunity from prosecution for violating Bari's and Cherney's civil rights in a COINTELPRO-style campaign to neutralize their political activity. Bari, who was nearly killed and left disabled by the blast, died March 2 of breast cancer.

The legal move comes at a time when a recent Inspector General's report on the FBI's crime lab has focused intense criticism on the agency and the integrity of its investigations. The main bomb expert in Bari's case, FBI Special Agent David R. Williams, is one of three experts transferred from their jobs following the U.S. Inspector General's report that the FBI crime lab regularly distorted and manipulated scientific evidence to support the prosecution in court cases. Among the dozens of cases said to be jeopardized by the scandal is the 1995 Oklahoma City federal building bombing.

Within hours of the 1990 car bombing, and despite evidence the environmentalists were targets of an assassination attempt, Oakland Police arrested Bari and Cherney for transporting explosives based on false FBI claims they were terrorists.

According to Dennis Cunningham, lead attorney for the two activists, "Rather than conduct a legitimate investigation to

find the real bombers, the agencies instead used the attack to smear Bari and Cherney, Earth First!, and the Northern California environmental movement." The charges were later dropped and the bomber remains at large.

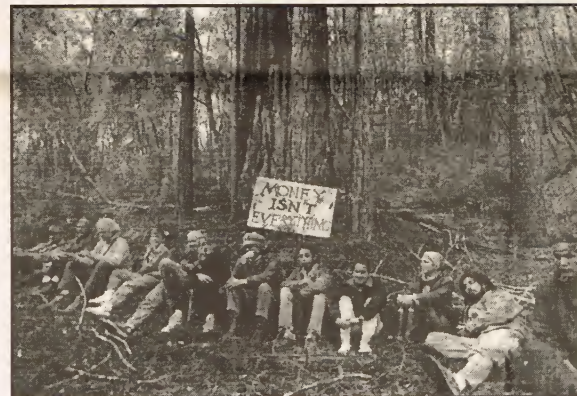
In the Bari case, Oakland Police claim it was Agent Williams who told them the nails in the car bomb matched those found in Bari's house. In fact, evidence shows no match of nails was possible and that investigators were well aware of it. This patently false statement was used to justify a second search of Bari's house and to fuel lurid headlines falsely connecting her to the bomb.

The Oakland Police and FBI claim their actions were legally reasonable, and they should be granted immunity in the six-year-old civil rights case.

The brief includes overwhelming evidence that the FBI and Oakland Police did not simply make "mistakes," but knowingly and deliberately falsified evidence in a conspiracy to violate Bari and Cherney's rights.

Anarchist Bookstores Burned

LYON, FRANCE—*La Plume Noir* bookstore was destroyed by arson the night of Feb. 17 with strong suspicion falling on local right-wingers. The day before, the Lyon Fédération Anarchiste Francophone (FAF) demonstrated against the right-wing National Front (FN), the fascist party headed by Jean-Marie Le Pen, because of the court action the latter is taking against



A 1990 Earth First! Redwood Summer blockade. Judi Bari's key role led to the attempt on her life. The annual EFi Round River Rendezvous will be June 27-July 6 in Wisconsin's Nicolet National Forest. Contact the RRR committee at 731 State St., Madison WI 53711; 608/250-8378 or see the next EFi Journal for information.

the Paris-based anarchist newspaper, *Le Monde Libertaire*. Stickers from the FN youth movement were discovered on the bookstore's window following the protest.

That night, the shop's front was ripped off and gasoline ignited which destroyed the premises and all its books. A 300-person solidarity demonstration was held the next day. The bookstore group plans to re-open and continue its fight against fascist provocations. For more information contact the FAF, 145 rue Amelot, 75011 Paris, France.

PHILADELPHIA PA, February 12—On Ash Wednesday, Wooden Shoe Books was totally destroyed by an electrical fire. The four-alarm blaze left little more than

charred books and warped records. Friends of the Wooden Shoe resolved to build a new, larger store.

Established in 1976, the bookstore quickly evolved into the center of anarchist activity in Philadelphia. In 1990 the Shoe began hosting anarchist coffee houses at the Philadelphia Marxist School. When the Marxist School closed down in 1991, members of the Wooden Shoe collective and friends claimed it for anarchy by founding the A Space there.

Since they expect to pay triple the rent of their old location, entirely restock their shelves, and rebuild bookcases and other fixtures, they need our help. Send contributions to: Wooden Shoe, c/o A Space, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia PA 19143; tel. 215/ 724-1925.

Travels in Russia

by Henri Simon

A journey through the former Soviet Union provides a grim picture of what the triumph of capital has created in the "new" Russia

These impressions of a three-month trip attempt to answer certain questions which emerge from news reports in Western media. But they remain generalizations and are obviously subject to criticism. In view of the immensity of Russia and the short length of our stay, these impressions cannot be accurate for all parts of Russia.

Our visit was essentially to four cities: St. Petersburg, Moscow, Voronezh and Archangel and to the part of the Karelia region between Onega Lake and the White Sea.

The first general impression is that the weakness of the central government causes areas of the country to differ from one another. These differences are visible even during a short stay. The country can be characterized—economically, socially and politically—as “regional feudalism.” Differences between St. Petersburg, Moscow and Voronezh are striking. I will discuss the North separately as it can’t be compared with other places we visited.

The former communist bureaucracy is still very much in evidence but it functions very differently from city to city. In St. Petersburg, no one cared that my visa was not stamped on time. When I attempted to register at the St. Petersburg police station, I was ejected, somewhat roughly. But my “irregular” status did not matter and the youth hostel where we stayed made no objection.

In Moscow, it was completely different. It was impossible to get a room at the youth hostel when a visa was not in order. We spent an entire day from early morn-

ing to late at night, going back and forth between the central office and the local police station. At the end of the day, after paying some kind of a bribe in addition to the fine, we finally got the needed stamp on our passports. Only then could we look for a room. Outside of Moscow, we were rarely asked for our papers.

Freedom for ordinary people differed greatly depending on the city. In St. Petersburg, a Russian friend told us, “Here we are more free than in a big city in the West.” In a certain way it was true. At the subway entrance in Nevski Prospect, the central thoroughfare in the heart of St. Petersburg, we saw groups of people selling their political literature and having discussions with passers-by. Their affiliations were openly displayed, among them anarchists with a black flag.

Anything Better Than Communists

A huge housing project in the center of the city has been squatted for years. Here there are numerous artistic activities like exhibitions and courtyard rock concerts.

We might ask what freedom means when people have no money to buy basic necessities. But most inhabitants consider it more important than anything else to carry on activities they choose without worrying about possible repression. (This was the explanation given for the pro-Yeltsin, anti-Zuganov vote in the 1996 election: anything is better than the return of the communists.) We should point out that this freedom does not imply personal risk. Except for a district near the Warsaw train station, which is reputed to be the place where the St. Petersburg underworld hangs out, no one advises you to “be careful.”

Moscow was completely different. We weren’t there long enough to get an idea of the level of freedom, but we were warned about the danger not only of being mugged, but of being attacked by gangs of skinheads hunting “foreigners” (who could be from outside the country or from the south of Russia.) Physical characteristics and an



About the Photographs

Grim Lenin still stands in front of a factory in the Russian Ural Mountain town of Nizhny-Tagil. Striking Detroit News photographer Rebecca Cook accompanied a free-lance writer there in 1991 as a guest of local environmentalists to chronicle the damage done by Soviet industrialism. Formerly off-limits to foreigners, the town was surrounded by prison camps whose inmates built the cheerless living quarters and factories which operated without any pollution controls.

Simon's and Claudia's visits give life to the contentions in our Spring 1992 Fifth Estate essay, "The Fall of Communism; The Triumph of Capital." We recommend it as a companion piece to these first-hand observations.

accent can give one away, so we were told not to talk in the streets after a certain hour in the evening.

While visiting a friend in a Moscow suburb, we saw at an intersection next to a kiosk a sort of shrine—a photograph nailed to a tree surrounded by a lot of flowers. These were placed there in memory of the kiosk keeper who had been killed by the local mafia because he refused to pay protection money. Our friend told us this in a lowered voice while looking around to see if anyone was listening to us talking about the mafia. He advised us not to take pictures of this shrine.

Another day, we observed an incident involving men who looked like Russian mafiosi carrying a man, either dead or completely drunk, and we were advised not to stay around. Outside the youth hostel where we stayed, there was a huge market area filled with a mixture of some very unpleasant people. Several times, as we returned in the evenings, we were rather frightened by some young people looking at, and following us with an insistence that made us feel uneasy. We also saw fights taking place amid a general indifference of the crowd.

Voronezh was completely different from both these cities. When we asked our friend if he would be able to distribute leaflets or papers publicly, he immediately answered, “No, it would be too dangerous. Perhaps at a big demonstration,

but not just anywhere.”

In Voronezh, everything was very quiet. We walked around the city by ourselves at all times of day, but no one advised us to be careful. When we asked why an apartment building entrance had a security code to open the outside gate, we were told it was installed after the tenants protested that drunkards gathered on the stairs, drinking and eating.

Although I was never in Russia during the Breshnev regime, I think most provincial cities of this period must have been like Voronezh: life under a leaden lid. A money shortage may be one reason, but St. Petersburg was certainly poorer and yet it was as lively as Voronezh was dead.

Local Oligarchy Now Rules City

According to a friend who lives in Voronezh, the city is dominated by thirty former members of the nomenklatura who have managed to buy all the principal factories of this industrial city. They accomplished this by using the privatization system to cheat the workers. They obtained money from local banks to buy vouchers distributed to the workers. This local oligarchy now rules the city, maintaining the former laws and the former bureaucratic organization. It determines the level of repression needed to maintain the status quo.

It is not true that the situation in Russia is “chaotic.” A lot of the public services

Henri Simon and his daughter Claire spent three months in Russia during 1996. Simon is the author of numerous books and articles including the Black & Red title, *Poland 1980-82: Class Struggle and the Crisis of Capital* (see our book page), and contributes to *Echanges*, bulletin of the network *Echanges et Mouvement*, £7 for 4 issues, from BP 241, 75866 Paris Cedex 18, France.

All Russia Photographs: Rebecca Cook

function—though poorly. In Moscow and St. Petersburg, the subways, tramways and buses ran on schedule. The same was true for trains; they go slowly because of bad track conditions, but are more or less on time; full but never overcrowded. (Sometimes it is hard to get a ticket.) The train stations are usually huge buildings like empty shells with lonely people, tramps and waiting passengers.

Airports are more chaotic. Scheduled flights are canceled, and some terminals are so overcrowded it is easy to miss your flight. Train service linking airports to the city is in terrible shape. The poor reputation of the domestic airlines was confirmed when we saw our fellow passengers crossing themselves before the plane took off.

We never experienced electrical shut-downs as we did in China. These observations about transportation are limited to the big cities, but indicate a certain level of organization and maintenance, as well as a supply of electricity and fuel.

A Functioning Economy?

Only in St. Petersburg and in the North did we have the opportunity to observe economic activity. Most factories in the St. Petersburg suburbs are empty and abandoned.

Some are so covered with rust and weeds that it was surprising to see smoke rising from a chimney or trucks going through the gates. (It occurred to us that this could be clandestine activity.)

The port in St. Petersburg was not busy and not very modern (use of containers seemed limited). The trucks we saw were old model American Studebakers from WW II. Junked trucks were seen at the sides of the roads and in inactive factory yards.

How Can People Survive?

In the North, the desolation was even worse and very depressing. The port of Archangel was barely operating and on the other side of the White Sea, a former military port in Kem was so decrepit that it was hard to imagine any previous activity. The only industrial activity we observed was a sawmill for wood exports. The military observation tower was empty. Since one-third of the Soviet economy was devoted to the military, it is hard to determine the kind of non-military activity that used to go on here.

Before attempting to answer the basic question, "How can people survive in such economic conditions?" I want to report some observations about life in various

places we visited.

St. Petersburg gives the impression of uniform poverty, not only its roads, buildings, courtyards, parks and playgrounds are decrepit, but judging by the stairways and common areas, housing complexes seem to be too. Even the beautiful classical buildings in the center city exhibit the same lack of maintenance. A dull, poverty-stricken monotony hangs over the city, especially on overcast days.

The dilapidation is particularly noticeable when it rains and you must avoid pools of water from gutters all over the pavement. Building maintenance seems non-existent. The dirt and smell were evidence of terrible poverty. We never saw so many stray cats as in St. Petersburg, most of them living wild in the buildings' common areas.

There was a striking contrast between the dirt outside and the level of comfort inside the apartments (leaving aside the shared kitchens and bathrooms). Despite lack of maintenance and funds, most people achieved a certain level of comfort in their living quarters.

People on the street exhibited a similar lack of maintenance. It seemed to us that most of them didn't have enough money to be concerned about wearing clothes

that matched or to display any elegance. Judging by the number of stalls selling second-hand clothing, people wear clothes until they are completely worn out. The central part of Moscow was different. New buildings are going up and the "nouveau riches" can afford stylish clothes and new suburban dachas.

Lack Of Collective Life

In the North, things are even worse than in St. Petersburg. In Archangel, and especially in Kem, most of the population is housed in old, large, wooden houses. The dirt roads are in terrible shape and there are raised wooden sidewalks built to avoid puddles.

By contrast, Voronezh looked quite clean and well maintained which contrasted with the lack of collective life. In Voronezh, as in the North, there were few cars, but traffic was quite heavy in Moscow (you often see expensive foreign cars) and St. Petersburg (old cars in poor condition).

As agricultural workers are now free to go where they please, many have left the farms, not wanting to take the land for themselves. This made it easy for former managers of the collective farms as well

Continued on page 8

RUSSIAN WOMEN:

Life In The Former Soviet Union After the Fall

by Claudia

Behind the male facade of business and politics Russia is a country run by women. Their labor keeps the population from starving. Yet post-1991 economic changes have led some women to reason that if they have to be beasts of burden they are not willing to take men along for the ride.

If this process gathers momentum, it will bring about the most radical transformation ever seen in Russian society. I saw glimmering signs of change when I lived in Russia in 1993. I went to satisfy my curiosity about the reality of Russian life, behind both Eastern and Western propaganda.

I settled in the Volga city of Samara, 500 miles east of Moscow and I found work teaching English. My home was a room in an eight room communal flat, with a cold-water kitchen and no bath. Before 1991, I had been to Moscow and Leningrad, but these are to Russia as say, New York and San Francisco are to the U.S. I was curious about the "deep provinces," as Russians call them, and this industrial city, off-limits to Westerners for 45 years, showed me all the harshness of Russian existence—and its occasional joy.

One hot afternoon on the way to the post office, I was struck by the scene before me: it seemed as though the whole



Railway maintenance workers outside of Nizhny-Tagil

essence of Russian life was being played out on that very street. The sidewalk was full of drunks lying ragged and comatose in the sunshine. A few were haggling for eau de Cologne with street trading grandmothers. While men rode by in cars, speeding off to sign pieces of paper in offices, women filled the streets.

They jostled for food in restive queues; laden with string bags they fought their way onto buses. Women and girls lined

the sidewalks, peddling nylon blouses, toothpaste and toilet paper. Others trudged past to fill their pails at street pumps or chased after the evening refuse cart with buckets of household waste.

While the post office clerk shuffled off to look for envelopes, I watched a cockroach crawl along the counter. I laughed to myself as I recalled Trotsky's avowal that the Russian revolution would mean "the people's final break with the Asiatic,

with the seventeenth century, with icons and cockroaches."

I understood then that revolutions never make a clean break with a country's civilization. Russia was not a fundamentally different land before and after 1917—or before and after 1991. Revolutions and wars have come and gone, but the cockroaches survive and the women still queue up at the water pump.

Russian life has maintained a continuity of its own. Catastrophic upheaval resulted in military men serving new masters, bureaucrats sitting under changed portraits, and secret policemen hounding fresh heresies, but every Russian ruling elite has relied on the exploitation of labor, and that labor has been disproportionately female.

Women were the caryatids that held up both autocracy and socialism. It is they who keep contemporary Russia from complete collapse.

Women work; men wield power. The pre-revolutionary peasant woman pulled the plough her husband guided. Within peasant communes men supervised land management and distribution; women could lodge appeals with the commune, but men had control over decision making.

The post-1917 USSR was able to industrialize at an unprecedented rate

Continued on Page 14

Travels in Russia

Continued from page 7

as the state farms (kolkhozes or sovkhoses) to become owners of the land. But besides the labor shortage, fuel, machinery and parts are severely lacking. Russian agriculture has long lacked speedy transport and storage facilities. At present, the most prosperous farms are in the vicinity of the big cities because they can arrange to provision the local market. Many urban people have a family member with agricultural connections and this link goes far in explaining how agricultural products reach consumers.

Implosion Of The Soviet System

One need not stay a long time in Russia to discover that survival depends on finding a source for money. Any expediency

One reason workers are able to survive in this chaos and don't resort to strikes, demonstrations or riots, is because the previous system taught them to cheat & use expediency in a parallel economy to survive.

to acquire money works. What expediency you find depends on your place in this class society, where you are situated and what possibilities your skills and training offer. The underground economy that evolved from this dependence on unofficial exchanges had a lot to do with the implosion of the soviet system.

Workers are considered workers whether they work full or part time or not at all. But working or not, they are all in a similar situation because wages are often not paid, or paid after a long delay. In some places, people are paid with wages in kind—either with some of the goods they have produced or with goods exchanged for these products.

A Russian friend told us it is common to see stalls next to main roads where pots, clothing, etc. are sold; this is how workers get their wages. Payment like this can be made only when the factory's product and location permit it. Workers in a steel factory or coal mine or at a saw mill near a forest have no opportunity to sell "their" product. This explains why strikes for wages occur in the mines and in remote parts of Russia.

As far as we can tell from our contacts, the level of wages for ordinary people is between 200,000 and 500,000 rubles a month. This is a pittance considering that

a subway token or a public phone call costs 1200 rubles in St. Petersburg and 1400 in Moscow (24 and 26 cents).

One reason workers are able to survive in this chaos and don't resort to strikes, demonstrations or riots, is because the previous system taught them to cheat and use expediency in a parallel economy to survive.

In Moscow and St. Petersburg, sidewalks next to subway entrances are lined by scores of people—generally elderly women—selling small quantities of everything, always ready to hide it in their bag or under their coat.

While traveling on a small secondary railway line in the North, we saw quite a few poachers going to fish at night in ponds where expensive fish are cultivated for the underground market. Judging by the items we saw on the streets, smuggling must be widespread. There is an enormous supply of Chinese and Western goods. Peasants (or someone connected with agricultural activity) often sell small quanti-

ties of local garden products. Party dictatorship and its subsidiary organizations. Although this society had written laws, it was not governed by them. The party was theoretically the center of the whole system.

In economic matters, the official plan was all-important and was implemented through links in the party bureaucracy. Horizontal links existed, but were not "legal" and they partially undermined the whole system. Laws pertaining to the horizontal links were unwritten—barter, fair play and mutual confidence determined them. Infractions of these non-written rules were settled, if possible, through the repressive organizations of the system.

The collapse of the entire party organization now makes such a balance between legal and illegal activities impossible to maintain. Thus, we see a kind of wild capitalism where conflicts of interest and/or lack of fair play in contractual economic relations are settled as in a war with threats, blackmail, protection rackets and killings.

bother us, but anything is better than a return of "communism." Thus, in St. Petersburg—the traditional rebellious city—the majority (of about half of the population allowed to vote) voted for Yeltsin. They had no confidence in Yeltsin, but he was opposing the "communist" candidate Ziganov. Political propaganda for Yeltsin clearly exploited this sentiment. Posters contrasted dull and dangerous "communism" to the bright future associated with Western "civilization."

A comrade in Moscow gave us his views on the fall of Gorbachev and the rise of Yeltsin. He attributed the implosion of the state capitalist system in the USSR to the impossibility of extracting enough surplus value from the workers. Another less politicized friend in St. Petersburg expressed the same opinion more directly and crudely saying, "The Russian people have always been lazy and the workers do not want to work."

The ruling class was very conscious of this problem and tried to find a remedy:

Gorbachev was the right man for the job. In order to improve productivity, he tried to completely change the guidelines for work norms in most factories. Drunkenness was a major reason for poor productivity so he tried to control the sale of vodka and clamp down on drunkenness. Immediately, strikes broke out all over the USSR. These strikes were not political (as reported in the West), but defensive economic strikes which were exploited by the Yeltsin clan to remove Gorbachev in order to gain power themselves.

Then, it was their turn to deal with the same problem, but now it was even more difficult. In order to undermine Gorbachev completely, it had been necessary to dismantle the remnants of power still retained by the Party (which was not too difficult as it was already rotten from within). Increasing productivity was left "to the market," which means direct competition between Russian enterprises and foreign goods. Poverty was seen as the main lever to make workers work harder for less pay. This drive failed as production had been seriously disrupted and the workers didn't "adapt" because they continued to depend on the usual expediencies.

Throughout Russia, but especially in St. Petersburg and the North, the number of drunkards and the quantity of cheap vodka available is astounding. Workers in remote areas like Siberia have the worst situation in the country: Workers from all over Russia went to work in distant factories and mines expecting high wages, but perestroika trapped them there and the extreme inflation reduced their savings to zero.

Current wages are barely enough to live on so they lack the money for plane fare, and now they are stuck. For these trapped workers, freedom has meant permanent deportation even if not in the form of the earlier concentration camps. Economic chains rather than political ones



Russia: Still internationalist. Young workers outside of the Moscow McDonald's are pleased to be part of the new economy. They're passing out menus advertising Big Macs.

ties of local garden products.

From these visible underground activities and the relationships they imply, we can surmise what the larger economy is like. The main economic activities are now in the hands of the former nomenklatura. The nouveaux riches do not emerge from any connection to basic industry. Their sphere is rather in some kind of trade or banking—i.e., from trading goods produced in or outside of Russia, or illegal exports like weapons, radio-active material, etc.

In the West, there is a lot of talk about the "mafia" in Russia. People immediately think of the Italian Mafia and its connections all over the world. I am skeptical there is such a link to Russia. At present, several mafias can be found in Russia, all with completely different functions, origins and roles. Their existence and strength could be a consequence of the weakness of the central government or the growing influence of criminal activity in Russia could have directly weakened the central government.

We have to remember that, before perestroika, all economic, social and political relations were managed through the

Rather than lacking a central authority with deputies at a local level, this system lacks capitalist regulation to rid itself of these overtly violent relations. Instead we find a mafia at all levels of economic activity, rarely with connections between them. This situation allows people who have some economic and/or financial power to become richer as they are able to impose their own law. The situation will change once some individuals or clans are able to impose their influence and goods on the others.

A visitor to Russia finds it difficult to determine the level of international capital's penetration in the country. Superficial evidence there is: MacDonald's, widespread tobacco advertising, a French firm renovating the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, foreign phone companies competing for intercity or international business, processed junk food and small trinkets sold everywhere; foreign cars (mainly in Moscow).

Russian Democracy

We were there during the second round of the recent elections and there was general disinterest in them: This game doesn't

hold them there.

The necessity to concentrate on survival takes its toll on people's quality of life. Acquiring money to get food and other necessities takes an enormous effort, so little time or money is left for entertainment. If they have enough money, people visit each other or watch TV. We were told that before the fall of the soviet system, there were many illegal circles which met to have discussions and listen to literature and music, but that most such groups have disappeared (except in St. Petersburg where people still gather to listen to amateur poets, but mainly to drink vodka, even if they are ill fed).

Health care is certainly less available after the collapse of the Soviet state. The health and education systems were previously linked to the workplace or residence; many no longer function. In a brief period, the average age of death has fallen ten years, more for men (most definitely because of alcoholism) than for women.

In St. Petersburg where we associated with many young people, the results of hunger and poor food were very noticeable. The individual we contacted in Voronezh worked in a center for disabled children where the institution could af-

ford to have a doctor come only twice a year.

The Soviet system's laws devoted to the emancipation of women were generally perceived as progressive ones. Perhaps a woman's situation doesn't differ all that much from her situation in pre-Soviet days. It is clear, however, that the current situation creates additional hardships for women's shoulders. What was touted as liberation has been turned into an instrument of male domination. The fact that abortions are free means it is often used as a means of contraception. Men don't want to use condoms and fe-

male contraceptives are either too expensive or unavailable. Easy divorce means that many women must live alone with their children, but without money since it is easy for a man to abandon them. The present conditions make it easy for men to escape familial obligations. Equality on the job translates into the hardest jobs being given to women who, in a sense, can be considered the immigrant workers in Russia. These observations were confirmed repeatedly by the general attitude of men toward women.

Our contacts with politicized people were interesting. Most have been influ-

enced by Western ideologies, but it is difficult to label their current perspectives. They reject "communism" as an ideology which has inseparable links with Stalinism. Also, the immensity of Russia and transportation problems make personal contacts or even exchange of literature difficult. In discussions with some of these political friends we had the feeling they were almost totally ignorant of most of what has happened in the USSR during the past century. We felt it would be useful to try to ex-

plain briefly what we know of the history and some analysis beyond the Leninist or Trotskyist interpretations of the Russian revolution.

In St. Petersburg, we were struck by the fact that many people would talk of the repression of the past decade. People under 40 spoke of problems they faced when involved with underground literature, painting, or rock music, but were completely silent on what went on during and since the 1917 revolution, as if an entire 80 years was obliterated. Lenin was the only image we saw of a past or present Communist leader.



Main street Nizhny-Tegil ends with toxic factories with no pollution controls.

Stoney Point Reclaims Land and Voice

Continued from Page One

them to loosen the cuffs on Marcia's wrist. "They were so enraged," Marcia recalls, "I was afraid they were going to blow her away."

Without officially arresting her, police took mug shots, fingerprinted and jailed her. From her cell she could hear officers listening to calls from the injured who were trying to get to the hospital. "They were monitoring them, but they wouldn't help them."

In the morning, never having been informed of the reason for her arrest, Marcia was not allowed to walk home on the threat of being charged with escaping custody. Instead, the OPP inexplicably drove her around back roads before finally turning her over to Kettle Point police for release.

The experience left her traumatized and grief stricken at the loss of her cousin Dudley, who she had "sort of adopted as a son." "They targeted him," she says, "They knew he was the heart of our movement." In fact, friends overheard police threatening Dudley the day of his death, saying that he would be the "first."

Marcia tried to return to her job teaching Ojibwa in the Ontario school system, but it was too soon after the traumatic experience. She was not provided with counseling and support usually offered by the school system and unable to continue

working under the emotional stress, she reluctantly resigned, with no one to replace her. Since September of last year she has devoted her time to telling the Stoney Point people's story in interviews and on speaking tours. She believes this work is crucial in order to counteract the negative propaganda campaign waged by the military, police, provincial government and powerful local opposition groups in their attempt to isolate and criminalize the Stoney Point movement for justice and self-determination.

Ironically, one of these antagonistic groups is the leadership of the neighboring "Kettle and Stoney Point Band," which is posed against them in competition for the Stoney Point land. This "internal" conflict, between native peoples arises, as Marcia describes it, from an "externally-imposed situation." She is referring to the fact that after the Stoney Point people's forced removal in 1942, government documents began referring to the Kettle Point band, on whose reserve many Stoney Point families became refugees, as the "Kettle and Stoney Point Band" (note the "e" dropped from Stoney).

This lumping together of the bands' names was part of an underhanded and unlawful strategy to extinguish the Stoney Point First Nation as a separate self-determining people. In this case the tactic has been first to merge, then divide and conquer. Now government negotiators exploit resentments between the communities caused by years of forced overcrowding on the swampy lands of Kettle Point.

Not all Kettle Point members are hostile to the Stoney Point people's movement to reclaim their land and distinct identity. Some, after all, are relatives and life-long friends. However, the Kettle Point leadership and council has shown disdain for the underlying issue of justice by colluding with the federal government

for their own self-interest. Now, when negotiations are held for the return of the confiscated land, the Canadian government recognizes only the "Kettle and Stoney Point Band" council. In fact, there is no actual representation from the people of Stoney Point. Here is the familiar colonial policy of designating as native spokespersons a few individuals willing to make deals brokering land and political power, which in effect, marginalizes and silences voices of opposition.

Along with animosity from the Kettle Point leadership, the OPP and the Ontario government, Stoney Pointers face the enmity of a local "property rights" hate group formed under the acronym, ON FIRE (Ontario Foundation of Individual Rights and Equality). At a rally, they called for charges of criminal negligence to be dropped against the OPP officer who shot and killed Dudley George. Members distributed a brief at the rally titled, "The Upperwash Protest—An Unfinished Drama," written by John C. Thompson and produced by the Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda, a powerful right-wing think tank with links to many reactionary organizations, including the North Ameri-

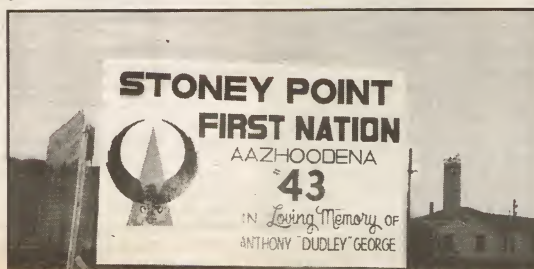
can World Anti-Communist League, Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform, as well as the Canadian Armed Forces.

In an earlier brief, "The Legacy of Oka," Thompson recommended that the Canadian state hire, equip and train police as a counterinsurgency force to avoid "prolonged negotiations" in any further confrontations with First Nations.

In light of the drastic police actions at recent native reclamation protests, such as the standoff at Gustafsen Lake, British Columbia and Stoney Point, it appears that Canadian officials are heeding Thompson's recommendations.

In the midst of these ongoing threats and challenges, however, Marcia has recently become a grandmother. Her hopes for the Stoney Point people are seasoned with a realistic sense of humor that characterizes the resiliency of their movement. "Potawatomi people never take anything for granted. We know you have to expect the unexpected and be ready to act spontaneously because things can always backfire. Sometimes you have turn things on their heads, eat your dessert first," She laughs. "That's being true Potawatomi."

—Kathleen Rashid



1918: russian artists of the ANARCHIST REVOLUTION

by Allan Antliff



Three artists spent the night in the mansion, since outside the museum a studio was set aside for making art. As the artists told it, that memorial morning 'We were awakened by shouts of, We'll shoot! Hands up!' Armed soldiers ordered them to get dressed, took them out to the courtyard and together with anarchists sent them off to the Kremlin.¹ This is Alexander Rodchenko's description of the Cheka's raid on the anarchist-held Morozov Museum in Moscow in the early morning of April 12, 1918 published in *Anarkhiya* (*Anarchy*). The report survives as an undated fragment in the New York Public Library, where North America's only copy of the short-lived revolutionary newspaper was allowed to disintegrate, neglected and forgotten, until the remains were microfilmed some years ago.

The obscurity of *Anarkhiya* mirrors the fate of Rodchenko's anarchism. Open any history of the Russian avant-garde during the civil war and you will read how Rodchenko and his fellow artists threw themselves, organizationally and artistically, into the most militant phase of a Bolshevik revolution.² What this narrative buries, however, is a messy history of artistic rebellion and political repression which engulfed Rodchenko and other avant-gardists in the years 1917-1919, as they strived to transform art production into an anarchist quest for liberation.

In 1918 Rodchenko, spurred by calls for a revolutionary art in *Anarkhiya*, created a series of paintings entitled *Black on Black*. The April 1919 "Tenth State Exhibition: Non-objective Creation and Suprematism" was the venue where he first presented his work, accompanied by a manifesto entitled "Rodchenko's System." Rodchenko's manifesto effected a 'revolution of the psyche' that was steeped in the ideology of egoism then dominating the Moscow wing of the anarchist movement. As we shall see, it was also an important challenge to the anarchism of Kazimir Malevich, who encapsulated his revolutionary credo at the same exhibit in a cycle of *White on White* paintings. Rodchenko's paintings marked an important intervention in the Russian anarchists' 'revolutionary art' debate. My purpose is to elucidate that intervention, the context in which it unfolded, and Rodchenko's retreat from anarchism in ensuing years.

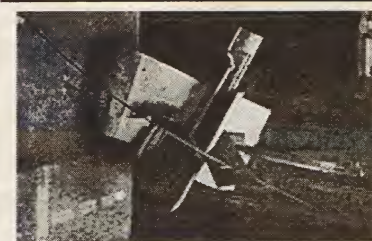
Let us return to the night of April 11-12, 1918. The month before, on March 3, 1918, a delegation of Bolsheviks acting on behalf of the Soviet government concluded a separate peace with Germany at Brest-Litovsk, ceding a quarter of Russia's arable land, a quarter of its population, and three-quarters of its industry to German Imperialism.³ Preceding the conclusion of negotiations the Bolshevik Party had split into a Leninist 'right' wing, which favoured a separate peace, and a more numerous 'left' wing, which opposed the action. The position of the Bolshevik left echoed the sentiments of the majority of workers and peasants' soviets, where negotiations with Germany were condemned and resolution after resolution called for a revolutionary war to defeat world capitalism.⁴

In the early months of 1918 anarchist opposition to the negotiations was unequivocal. Paul Avrich cites Aleksandr Ge, a prominent anarcho-communist, who delivered a speech at the Central Executive Committee of Soviets on February 23 in which he threatened: 'The anarchist-communists proclaim terror and partisan warfare on two fronts. It is better to die for the worldwide social revolution than to live as a result of an agreement with German Imperialism.'⁵ Russian anarcho-syndicalists took the same position, calling for the organization of "relentless partisan warfare" by guerrilla detachments throughout the length and breadth of Russia.⁶ And they were serious. During February and early March the local clubs of the Moscow Federation of Anarchists organized detachments of "Black Guards," armed with rifles, pistols, and grenades in preparation for guerrilla war—or Bolshevik attacks.⁷

In Moscow there were at least 25 anarchist clubs where the detachments gathered. These clubs were more than meeting places; they were radical cultural institutions.⁸ For example, the 'Dom' Anarkhiya (House of Anarchy), where the federation's official paper *Anarkhiya* was published, also featured a library and reading room, "proletarian art printing" facilities, a poetry circle, and a large theatre hall.⁹ The Morozov mansion discussed in Rodchenko's article was the former residence of one of the richest men in Russia. Under anarchist occupation it served as commune, artists' studio, and people's museum.¹⁰

The ostensible reason for the raids of April 1918 were a number of expropriations conducted by the Black Guards, but the real motivation was to shut down the anarchist movement.¹¹ Russian anarcho-syndicalist Gregorii Maximov's study of the repression of the Russian anarchist movement, *The Guillotine at Work*, contains a number of articles and related documents which lay bare the Bolshevik strategy.¹² The Cheka issued an official release in the wake of the raids declaring their purpose was to disarm "bands styling themselves as Anarchists." "The All-Russian Committee Against Counter-Revolution (Cheka)," states the release, "invites all citizens who have suffered from the attacks of robber bands to appear at the militia headquarters for the purpose of identifying the hold-up men detained during the disarming of the Anarchist groups."¹³ Thus the anarchists were criminalized.

Simultaneously, the Moscow Council of People's Commissars, acting on behalf of the Moscow Soviet, branded them with an additional smear. The Council reported that "counter-revolutionary groups" had joined the Anarchist armed detachments in order to utilize them "for some kind of



Counter-Relief, 1914

...this was the anarchist gateway through which he urged his comrades to pass

covert action against Soviet Power." Consequently "the Council of People's Commissioners, the Soviet and Moscow Province and the Presidium of the city soviet of Moscow found themselves facing the necessity of liquidating the criminal adventure, of disarming the Anarchist groups."¹⁴ "Liquidation" has an appropriate ring in light of subsequent events. During the Cheka's surprise raids 40 anarchists were killed or wounded, and over 500 were taken prisoner.¹⁵ In prison they were stripped and lined up for examination by "the well-to-do of the city"—invited, as we have seen, by the Cheka to identify "thugs and bandits."¹⁶ That morning *Anarkhiya* failed to appear and the next day the anarcho-syndicalist paper *Golos Truda* (*Voice of Labor*) was shut down. By the end of the week, writes

"That Day"

Shots.
Shots.
A crackling machine gun.
Again.
Guns!
God! What is it? Why?

October; its the same as then.

5 am.
Morning.
Jump out of bed.

Devils. Don't know. What they
crushed.
The Clubs.
People, dull and rude.
Don't know
who
they
killed.

They're bandits—they say—
Criminal dirt,
gathered at midnight.
People.
Can't [see]
their
faces.

Maximov: "not a single anarchist publication was left in the city."¹⁷ Shortly afterwards the Bolsheviks moved against anarchists in every region under their control.¹⁸ Maximov documents the progress of Bolshevik repression in late April and early May as anarchists were rounded up, their publications suspended, and their clubs and communes destroyed.¹⁹

In late April the Moscow Anarchist Federation regrouped and relaunched *Anarkhiya* for a brief period—one of its early issues commemorated the raids with a poem ("That Day") and a rough-hewn woodcut of a defiant anarchist raising the black standard—but thereafter anarchist organizations operated under threat of repression, with increasingly grave consequences.²⁰ And the persecution broke up the anarchist ranks. Some went underground to launch an anti-Bolshevik bombing campaign that brought waves of arrests in 1919.²¹ Others threw themselves into the struggle to defeat the Whites and served in the Red Army.²² A number even joined the government as loyal "Soviet-Anarchists," only to be jailed in the early 1920s.²³ For a time the Ukrainian anarchists of Nestor Makhno's insurrectionary army escaped the repression and provided refuge for those fleeing the Bolshevik clamp-down, but when the civil war ended they too were crushed.²⁴

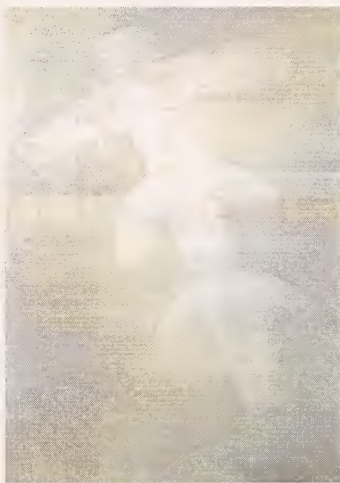
Who were the artists of the anarchist movement during these turbulent years? To Rodchenko's name we can add a host of other avant-garde artists and theoreticians: Rodchenko's wife, the non-objectivist painter Vavara Stepanova; Alexei Gan, who organized the House of Anarchy's "proletarian theatre" group; the young worker-artist A. Lukashinin; K. Malevich, leader of the Suprematist school of painters; the painter Nadezhda Udal'tsova (a Suprematist); the poets Vladimir Mayakovsky and Yulii Kamenskii who, along with Futurist painter David Burluk, founded the anarchist "House of Free Art" club in Moscow; and Vladimir Tatlin, the path-breaking avant-garde sculptor.²⁵

The key anarchist journal where these artists debated the events of their time and art's relation to the revolution was *Anarkhiya*. They chose *Anarkhiya*, I would argue, because they shared the individualist, working-class orientation of the journal and the Moscow Federation which it represented. The Federation's secretary, Lev Chernyi, was an uncompromising individualist who expounded an "associational" anarchist individualism derived from the 19th-century German anarchist, Max Stirner, author of the anti-statist individualist manifesto, *The Ego and His Own* (1848).²⁶ Chernyi's position—that only the free association of independent individuals could provide the foundation for an anarchist society—was seconded by *Anarkhiya*'s editor, German Askarov, who was firmly opposed to any tendencies that undermined the freedom of the individual in the name of some higher, collective principle.²⁷ In sum, Stirner's anarchist philosophy was an important current in the Moscow Federation, with its stress on individual autonomy, its emphasis on agitation among the working-classes, and its distaste for coercive statist and collectivist institutions.

The Ego and His Own presented a sustained argument that anarchist liberation could only be accomplished if all habitual subservience to authority ended and each unique ego became self-determining and value-creating. Anti-statism, Stirner argued, was an inescapable facet of egoism because when the individual achieved "self-realization of value from himself" he inevitably came to a "self-consciousness against the state" and its oppressive laws and regulations.²⁸ In fact, Stirner was hostile to any obligatory rules or regulations "for the good of the collective" and derided all contemporary theories of socialism, including communism, for sanctioning them. Free unions of egoists, he concluded, were the only social formation possible in a truly anarchist society.²⁹ Among the classes of his day Stirner singled out the proletariat—the "unstable, restless, changeable" individuals who owed nothing to the state or capitalism—as the one segment of society capable of solidarity with those "intellectual vagabonds" who approached the condition of anarchistic egoism which he propagated.³⁰ Liberation for the proletariat did not lie in their consciousness of themselves as a class, as Marx claimed. It would only come if the workers embraced the egoistic attitude of the "vagabond" and shook off the social and moral conventions that yoked them to an exploitive order.³¹ In other words,

for Stirner, the true revolution lay in each proletarian's egoistic psyche: this would set the revolt against the state in motion. Once the struggle for a new, stateless order was underway the vastness of the working class ensured the bourgeoisie's defeat. "If labor becomes free" Stirner concluded, "the state is lost."³² These were the proletarian, anti-statist goals Askarov, Chernyi, and others propagated in *Anarkhiya*.

The Ego and His Own also contains an important critique of



White on White, 1918



Black on Black, 1918

metaphysics and the capability of certain types of knowledge in the repression of the individual. Among the anarchists of the Federation A.L. and V.L. Gordin were the most radical proponents of this dimension of Stirner's thought. The Gordins were arch-materialists who argued religion and science were social creations, not eternal truths.³³ Their *Manifest Pananarkhistov* (Pananarchist Manifesto), published in 1918, opened with the following declaration: "The rule of heaven and the rule of nature—angels, spirits, devils, molecules, atoms, ether, the laws of God-heaven and the laws of Nature, forces, the influence of one body on another—all this is invented, formed, created by society."³⁴ Here the Gordins took a page from Stirner, who condemned metaphysics and dismissed the idea of absolute truth as a chimera. Stirner argued the metaphysical thinking underpinning religion and the notions of absolute truth that structured a wide range of scientific theories laid the foundation for the hierarchical division of society into those with knowledge and those without. From here a whole train of economic, social and political inequalities ensued, all of which were antithetical to anarchist egoism. Ideas, Stirner countered, were indelibly grounded in our corporeal being. The egoist recognized no metaphysical realms or absolute truths separate from our experience; "knowledge," therefore, was ever-changing and varied from individual to individual.³⁵ The Gordins agreed, arguing that *revolutionary* knowledge should emerge from "inventiveness and practical aptitude, technical skill and muscle power"—the activity of labor—rather than from the "abstract reasoning" of the bourgeoisie.³⁶

Hostility to abstract reasoning and bourgeois culture, militant individualism, and a belief in a new libertarian and proletarian era: these positions defined the Stirnerist anarchism of the Moscow Federation. And in 1918 they set the terms for debating the relation of art to the anarchist revolution in the pages of *Anarkhiya*.

On March 25, 1918, the anarchist Baian Plamen (a pseudonym) published a "Letter to Our Comrades, the Futurists," in *Anarkhiya* that resonated with the Federation's antipathy for the culture of the bourgeoisie and the role of art under its patronage. Plamen railed against "socially passive Futurists" in the anarchist ranks who proclaimed their radicalism while serving "the bourgeois way of life" by decorating the cafes of the wealthy and designing useless "artifacts."³⁷ This was a swipe at Rodchenko, Udal'tsova, and Tatlin, who, from July 1917 to January 1918, had designed a Moscow cafe-theater ("The Cafe of the Revolutionary City") for Nikolai Filippov, a wealthy capitalist who owned most of Moscow's bakeries.³⁸ Under the direction of the Futurist Georgii Yakulov the artists renovated Filippov's haunt in the latest avant-garde style. Rodchenko contributed hand-crafted lamps and other decorative elements; stylish tables and benches were made; and Tatlin and Udal'tsova organized the construction of relief elements projecting from the cafe's ceiling and walls.³⁹

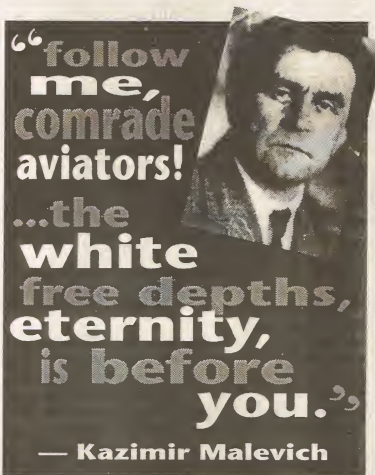
THE FIFTH ESTATE/PAGE 11

The establishment opened on January 30th and quickly became notorious as Moscow's most radical artistic experiment.⁴⁰ However where the artists saw revolution Plamen saw co-optation. The criticism stung, and Tatlin quickly rushed to the defence with a rejoinder—"My Answer to 'Letter to the Futurists'"—in *Anarkhiya*'s March 29 issue.⁴¹ Tatlin concurred with Plamen that art for the ruling class—"emperors and ladies"—was undesirable, but rejected Plamen's claim that he and his followers were "futurists." Condemning the "isms" of the avant-garde as "the chronic sickness of contemporary art" he proclaimed his own work to be a new, revolutionary "gateway" through which artists could "throw off the old to admit a breath of anarchy."

Tatlin's break with the "isms" of the avant-garde dates to the beginning of World War I. He had been painting in a variety of modernist styles ranging from Fauvism to Cubism, but in the winter of 1913-1914 he developed new art forms—the relief and counter-relief—that transformed the terms of avant-garde experimentation. In his *reliefs*, non-figurative forms of various colors and textures (*fachuras*) were lifted from a two-dimensional surface and projected into space. Tatlin called the resulting compositions "selections of materials" because they were composed out of real elements with various structural and painterly characteristics. The next step was to break away from the surface entirely with the *counter-reliefs*, which were suspended in space by wires. These

exhibited architectural characteristics, since the process of creation necessitated structural relations develop between the object's various components.⁴² Thus Tatlin broke with avant-garde modernism on two counts. He developed new art forms (the *relief* and *counter-relief*) and he eliminated the metaphysical preoccupations driving Cubism and other avant-garde "isms" in favor of the "materials" of his creations.⁴³ The materialism of each element (surface, texture, color, structure, etc.) was the anarchist "gateway" through which he urged his comrades to pass. It remained for Rodchenko to give this passage an egoistic valiance.

By 1918 Rodchenko was a well-versed in Tatlin's non-objective art, having met the artist in 1915 and collaborated with him on numerous projects, including Filippov's cafe. He had also con-



ducted his own experiments with the properties of paint on canvas throughout 1915-17, and by 1918 "color" was the element he made his own. Here is Rodchenko's description of his work, published in the April 28, 1918 edition of *Anarkhiya*: "Constructing projections on ovals, circles, and ellipses. I often distinguish only the extremities of the projections with color, which gives me the possibility of emphasizing the value of the projections and the color,



Rodchenko

At the basis of my cause I have placed nothing.
—M. Stirner, "The Sole One."

Colors disappear—everything merges into black.
—A. Kruchenykh, Gly-Gly.

Muscle and pluck forever!
What invigorates life invigorates death,
And the dead advance as much as the living advance.
—Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass.

Murder serves as a self-justification for the murderer; he thereby aspires to prove that nothing exists.
—Otto Weininger, Aphorisms.

... I devour it the moment I advance the thesis, and I am the "I" only when I devour it.
... The fact that I devour myself shows merely that I exist.
—M. Stirner.

Gliding o'er all, through all,
Through Nature, Time, and Space,
As a ship on the waters advancing,
The voyage of the soul—not life alone,
Death, many deaths I'll sing.
—Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass.

The downfall of all the "isms" of painting marked the beginning of my ascent.

To the sound of the funeral bells of color painting, the last "ism" is accompanied on its way to eternal peace, the last love and hope collapse, and I leave the house of dead truths.

The motive power is not synthesis but invention (analysis). Painting is the body, creativity, the spirit. My business is to create something new from painting, so examine what I practice practically. Literature and philosophy are for the specialists in these areas, but I am the inventor of new discoveries in painting.

Christopher Columbus was neither a writer nor a philosopher, he was merely the discoverer of new countries.

used as an auxiliary means and not an end. By thoroughly studying the projection in depth, height, and breath, I discover an infinite number of possibilities for construction outside the limits of time."⁵¹ Rodchenko's *Construction* of 1918 is an example of this phase of his production. In this work Rodchenko applied color in circles to bring out its properties of projection, creating 'forms' that emerge, recede, rise, and fall on a flat surface where the conventions of three-dimensional illusionism are totally effaced.

During this same period Malevich, leader of the Suprematists, was working with color and depth in his own abstractions. And, like Rodchenko, he published extensively in *Anarkhiya*, where he also laid claim to a relationship between art and anarchism. Malevich's non-objectivism, first manifested in 1913 in the form of a stark black square painted on a white background, was rooted in the metaphysical mysticism of theosophy and notions of a "fourth" dimension beyond the sensate third. Noting that the basis of our perceptions were physiological, Malevich argued humanity was evolving toward a higher state of being that would unite us with all living things, and ultimately, the universe itself. Evoking the third dimensions of space and depth on two-dimensional surfaces using nonobjective forms such as circles, triangles, squares and lines, his "Suprematist" paintings functioned as an analogue for the perception of this "higher" dimension, a dimension apprehended by a consciousness that was irrational rather than rational, 'felt' rather grasped analytically. The hallmark of this consciousness was "simultaneity"; freed of third-dimensional moorings, things once separate and distinct merged, defying all logic and common sense.⁵² This illogic formed the basis for the poetics of Suprematism's most important literary allies, Alexei Kruchenykh and Velimir Klebnikov, who utilized transrational language (*zuan*) to create "unresolved dissonances" that tapped our inner psyche and opened us to "simultaneity."⁵³

At the turn of the century many anarchists, artists included, fused speculative mysticism with revolutionary politics. For Malevich and his allies the Russian revolution signalled that Suprematism's time had arrived and he propagated this idea in *Anarkhiya*, where he declaimed Suprematism "egoism" as the visionary individualism of the anarchist revolution. For example, *Anarkhiya's* March 27, 1918 issue featured a proclamation by Malevich entitled "To the New Limit" which ran: "We are revealing new pages of art in anarchy's new dawns The



Construction, 1918

ensign of anarchy is the ensign of our 'ego,' and our spirit like a free wind, will make our creative work flutter in the broad spaces of the soul. You who are bold and young . . . Wash off the touch of dominating authorities. And, clean, meet and build the world in awareness of your day."⁵⁴

Asserting the revolutionary hegemony of Suprematism, Malevich was more than ready to take on his non-objectivist rivals. In the same issue of *Anarkhiya* (March 29) where Tatlin's reply to "Plamen" appeared he published his own "Reply" in which he blasted the "counter-revolutionary" café art of Tatlin and his comrades and dismissed their artistic anarchism as a "revolt" against tradition that paled in comparison with the Suprematists' spiritual-artistic revolution, which had pushed humanity to "the limit of an absolutely new world."⁵⁵

1918 also saw Malevich embark on a series of paintings that were unprecedented in his production. This cycle—the *White on White* paintings—was unveiled on April 27, 1919 at the "10th State Exhibition of Non-objective Creation and Suprematism." Malevich's accompanying statement, entitled "Suprematism," elucidated the aim of his latest work.⁵⁶ Hitherto the Suprematists had painted color forms floating against a white ground. Non-objective form and pure color had overcome the old artistic practice of representation and its methods of color-mixing that simulated "things and objects," however the persistence of color

frustrated Malevich because aesthetic deliberations over the arrangement of color were far removed from the higher Suprematist state of mind.⁵⁷ Even if an artist's work was "constructed abstractly but based on color interrelations," Malevich wrote, his will would remain "locked up" by "the walls of aesthetic planes, instead of being able to penetrate philosophically."⁵⁸ The move to *White on White* broke through this limitation, liberating the artist to approach the new Suprematist consciousness in a medium from which the old world was finally, completely purged. Devoid of color, the *White on White* forms dissolved into a void. In "Suprematism" Malevich celebrated the new-found lib-

At the turn of the century many anarchists, artists included, fused speculative mysticism with revolutionary politics.

eration of his egoist "will," free to soar, uninhibited, beyond the known world, writing: "I am free only when—by means of critical and philosophical substantiation—my will can extract a substantiation of new phenomena from what already exists. I have breached the blue lampshades of color limitations, and have passed into the white beyond: follow me, comrade aviators! . . . the white free depths, eternity, is before you."⁵⁹

As we have seen, Malevich was just as committed to the anarchist revolution as Rodchenko, however their artistic differences were profound, and at the April 1919 exhibit this became clear to all concerned when Rodchenko's *Black on Black* paintings and his manifesto, "Rodchenko's System," faced off, literally, against Malevich's "Suprematist" statement and his *White on Whites*. During the days leading up to the exhibition Rodchenko's wife and fellow non-objectivist Vavara Stepanova kept a diary where she discussed the critical purpose of Rodchenko's work. Throughout Stepanova called Rodchenko "Anti," a pseudonym of opposition and negation that Rodchenko apparently also used in *Anarkhiya*.⁶⁰

The exhibition, wrote Stepanova, was "a contest between Anti and Malevich, the rest are rubbish. Malevich has hung five white canvases, Anti black ones."⁶¹ Stepanova praised "Anti" for his powerful distillation of "pure painterly effects, without being obscured by incidental elements, not even by color." She also recorded her (and presumably Rodchenko's) view of the implications the *Black on Black* series held for Malevich. "Anti's works" were "a new step in painting after Suprematism. . . . the destruction of the square and a new form, the intensification of painting for its own sake, as a professional feature, a new interesting facture and just painting, not a smooth coating in a single color, the most unrewarding—black."⁶² We can probe the anarchist foundations of the "destruction of the square"—clearly a reference to Malevich—through a reading of "Rodchenko's System" as a step-by-step process of egoistic affirmation and negation.⁶³

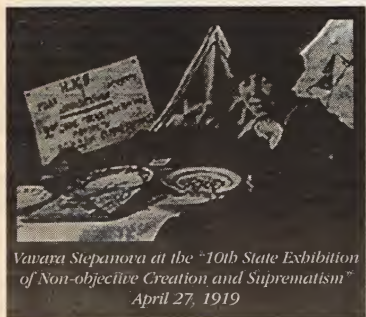
Let us begin with Stirner. "Rodchenko's System" opened with Stirner's most fundamental materialist axiom, "At the basis of my cause I have placed nothing," and its fifth aphorism was another passage from Stirner: "I devour it the moment I advance the thesis, and I am the 'I' only when I devour it. . . . The fact that I devour myself shows merely that I exist." These aphorisms hold the key to Rodchenko's manifesto, but to grasp their import we have to return, once more, to *The Ego and His Own*.

In the section of his book entitled "The Owner," Stirner argued the self-affirming ego "devoured" everything, even the very notion of an "I." Positing the notion of an "I," Stirner argued, assumed there was an absolute condition of "being" that transcended our uniqueness. Such "Absolute thinking," wrote Stirner, "is that thinking which forgets that it is my thinking, that I think, and that it exists only through me. . . . But I, as I, swallow up again what is mine, am its master; it is only my opinion which I can at any moment change, ie. annihilate, take back into myself and consume."⁶⁴ For Stirner the sensuous, devouring ego was the irreducible core of uniqueness and the cornerstone of the mastering "I" that had no essence; that was, in effect, the "nothing" at the foundation of his philosophy. "I am not an ego along with other egos," wrote Stirner: "I am unique. Hence my wants too are unique, and my deeds; in short, everything about me is unique. And it is only this unique that I take everything for my own, as I set myself to work, and develop myself, only as this. I do not develop man, nor as man, but as I, I develop—myself. This is the meaning of the—unique one."⁶⁵

Suprematism celebrated the evolution of humanity. Malevich's anarchist ego was a manifestation of a dawning collective consciousness that penetrated to a realm which was unabashedly metaphysical. Far from asserting uniqueness, the transrationalism of Malevich and his

poetic allies sought to break down the 'false' barriers separating the self and the universe. In Stimerist terms, this was just one more instance of grovelling subservience to a mysterious 'higher' condition apart from the self.

Quoting Stirner, Rodchenko set himself against all this; in fact, he 'devoured' it. For his second aphorism ("colors disappear—everything merges into black") Rodchenko took a passage from Kruchenykh's transrational play *Gly-Gly*, a play in which Malevich and Kruchenykh both figured as dramatis personae.³⁹ Putting this transrational poet into service to trumpet Rodchenko's paintings was an egoistic put-down that would not have been lost on Malevich. An aphorism from the German psychologist Otto Weininger's book *Über die letzten Dinge* (1907) and two quotations from Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855) served the same end. Here



Rodchenko transformed Weininger's psychological insight into an elliptic commentary on himself. By "murdering" Suprematism he was achieving "self-justification" of a consummately egoistic sort, since, following Stirner, the "self" that justified the act was itself devoid of an "essence": it was the "nothing" that the "murderer" aspired to "prove." Finally, the Whitman passages, which praised the invigorating risk death plays in the process of life, indicated that Rodchenko's "voyage of the soul" necessitated both creation (his paintings) and negation (again, suprematism) and introduced the affirmative section of "Rodchenko's System."

Alluding to his debt to Tatlin, Rodchenko attributed his own "assent" to the downfall of all "isms," including Suprematism, whose "funeral bells" were rung by the *Black on Black* series. From this point on the motive of his work, wrote Rodchenko, would be "invention (analysis)" utilizing the material constituents of the object ("painting is the body") to "create something new from painting." Once through Tatlin's "gateway," Rodchenko's egoist anarchism stripped art of metaphysics and distilled its base elements, the painterly "body" and the creative "spirit." Having mastered the "isms" of the avant-garde he would now master painting itself, moment by moment, in a process of free invention. These were the qualities Stepanova celebrated in her diary, where she wrote that "Anti," the "analyst" and "inventor," created work that presented nothing but "painting." The *Black on Black* (left) no room for color, and their facture gained an extraordinary presence as a result.⁴⁰ In her diary Stepanova related that the "lustrous, matt, flaky, uneven, land smooth" surfaces of the *Black on Black*s so impressed the anarchist painter Udaltsova that she asked for one to be taken down so that she could feel it. The exhibition, Stepanova concluded, was a tremendous success for "Anti" and "his mastery, his facture."⁴¹

In *The Revolution of Everyday Life* Raoul Vaneigem has observed that each artist creates "with the mission of completing his personal self-realization within the collectivity." "In this sense," he argues, "creativity is a revolutionary act."⁴² In early 1919 Rodchenko proclaimed his creative ego embodied the goals of revolutionary Russia, but could his painterly anarchism ever hope to overcome the Bolshevik reign of terror, repression, and ideological assaults then besieging that revolution?

Rodchenko's plight recalls the plaintive objections he once raised in *Anarkhiya* during the revolution's hopeful early days.⁴³ He wrote of attending a meeting of the Marxist-dominated "Proletarian Culture" organization, where he had heard a virilistic speech on "proletarian art" from one "comrade Zaleskii," who condemned Cubism and Futurism as the "last word in bourgeois art" and the antithesis of proletarianism. The pre-revolutionary Cubists and Futurists, countered Rodchenko, were "daring inventors" who, though "hungry and starving" under the old order, had produced "revolutionary creations." The bourgeoisie "hated" the Cubists and Futurists because it "wan[ted] to see only itself and its taste in the mirror of art." Now Zaleskii demanded that the workers emulate their

oppressors. "But the worker," wrote Rodchenko, did not want to "strangle his brother, the rebellious artist." "I am sure," he concluded, "that working people want true creators, not submissive bureaucrats." Rodchenko voiced his objections freely in 1918 because he addressed a large working-class readership from the platform of a thriving anarchist movement. Though beset by adversaries he could still appeal to the readers of *Anarkhiya* for support and rally other artists to the cause of self-liberation. But by 1919 the movement had been smashed and its artists stood very much alone. The situation only worsened in 1920 as the Communist Party's drive to crush the anarchists reached its crescendo.

Rodchenko's decision to capitulate came in early 1921. Condemning artistic production as irrelevant "individualism," he and erstwhile anarchists Gan and Stepanova formed "The First Working Group of Constructivists" and drew up a statement in which they dedicated themselves to the design of useful objects guided by "the philosophy and theory of scientific communism."⁴⁴ The date of their manifesto—the 18th of March—has a grotesque finality that is not coincidental. The night before the Bolsheviks had crushed the last flicker of resistance to their rule at the island fortress of Kronstadt, where a free Soviet held out for sixteen days until its rebellious inhabitants were subdued in an orgy of killing.⁴⁵ Alarmed by anarchist involvement in the rebellion the Cheka swept Russia's cities and towns, throwing hundreds of anarchists, including Askarov and Chernyi, into prison.⁴⁶ Plainly the time was ripe for a retreat into Marxist orthodoxy.

During the 1920s and 30s Rodchenko found his creativity increasingly hemmed in by Marxist ideologues who were only too happy to dictate the shifting terms of art's role in the Bolshevik utopia. The process culminated in the 1930s, when "Anti" took to painting bitter portraits of himself in clown suits (*Romance*, 1935), dressed up in the mirror image of the Communist bureaucracy's artistic circus.⁴⁷ Then only the *Black on Black*s persevered as brooding, silent reminders of a freedom once gained, now obliterated.



Romance, 1935

Notes

All quotations from *Anarkhiya* are taken from the New York Public Library holding unless otherwise noted.

1. Alexandr Rodchenko, "O Muzei Monozhva," *Anarkhiya* n.d. This was the second installment of a two-part article.
2. With the notable exception of the German art historian Hubertus Gassner. See Hubertus Gassner, "The Constructivists: Modernism on the Way to Modernization," *The Great Utopia: The Russian and Soviet Avant-Garde, 1915-1932* exh. cat. (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1992), 298-319.
3. Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 182.
4. Ronald I. Kowalski, *The Bolshevik Party in Conflict: The Left Opposition of 1918* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991), 146-154.
5. Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, 182; citing *Pravda*, February 25, 1918, 2.
6. Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, 182.
7. *Ibid.*, 183.
8. Gregori Maximov, *The Guillotine at Work* (Chicago: Alexander Berkman Memorial Fund, 1940), 406.
9. *Ibid.*, 408.
10. Rodchenko, "O Muzei Monozhva," *Anarkhiya*, n.d.
11. Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, 184.
12. "The April Pogrom in Moscow," in Maximov, *The Guillotine at Work*, 383-393.
13. "Release of the Extraordinary Committee to Struggle Against the Counter-Revolution (Cheka)," *Znamia Truda*, April 13, 1918 in Maximov, *The Guillotine*

at Work, 383.

14. "An Official Communication," *Znamia Truda*, April 13, 1918 in Maximov, *The Guillotine at Work*, 384-385.
15. Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, 184.
16. Maximov, *The Guillotine at Work*, 357.
17. *Ibid.*, 356.
18. "Pogroms Follow in Petrograd and in the Provinces," in Maximov, *The Guillotine at Work*, 396-404.
19. Maximov, *The Guillotine at Work*, 410.
20. "Tot'Den," *Anarkhiya*, April 23, 1918. The artist and poet are not identified.
21. Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, 189-195.
22. *Ibid.*, 188-189.
23. Maximov, "The Persecution of the Anarchist Universalists," *The Guillotine at Work*, 505-505.
24. For a history of Ukrainian anarchism see Peter Arshinov, *History of the Makhnista Movement (1918-1921)* trans. by Lorraine and Fredy Perlman (Detroit: Black and Red, 1974).
25. Gassner, "The Constructivists," *The Great Utopia*, 303. The activities of Gan and Lukashin have been gleaned from the pages of *Anarkhiya*; Tatlin, Rodchenko, and Lukashin were all members of the anarchist "Initiatory Group" of artists. See the undated "Letter to the Federal Council of Anarchist Groups" reprinted in German Karginov, *Rodchenko*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 60.
26. Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, 177.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Max Stirner, *The Ego and His Own* trans. by Steven T. Byington (New York: Benjamin R. Tucker, 1907).
29. *Ibid.*, 361.
30. *Ibid.*, 414-415.
31. *Ibid.*, 148-149.
32. *Ibid.*, 150-151.
33. Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, 179.
34. Ibra'ia Gordinii, *Manifest Pananarkhizist* (Moscow: 1918), 5-7 cited in Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, 177-178.
35. Stirner, *The Ego and His Own*, 180-190, 473.
36. Ibra'ia Gordinii, *Manifest Pananarkhizist*, 29 cited in Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, 178.
37. A.A. Strigalev and L.A. Zhadova notes on Baim Plemen (pseudonym), "Open Letter to the Futurists," *Anarkhiya* March 25, 1918 in "Documents," Tatlin, ed. Larissa Aleksievna Zhadova, (New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 185.
38. Karginov, *Rodchenko*, 91.
39. John Miller, *Vladimir Tatlin and the Russian Avant-Garde* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 127-128.
40. Karginov, *Rodchenko*, 92.
41. Vladimir Tatlin, "My Answer to 'Letter to the Futurists,'" *Anarkhiya*, March 29, 1918 in Zhadova, ed. Tatlin, 185.
42. A.A. Strigalev, "From Painting to the Construction of Matter," in Zhadova, ed. Tatlin, 19.
43. On metaphysics and Russian avant-garde art see Charlotte Douglas, *Scams From Other Worlds*, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1976), 49-62.
44. Rodchenko, *Anarkhiya*, April 28, 1918 in Selim O. Khan-Magomedov, *Rodchenko: The Complete Work* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), n.d., n. 34.
45. Theories of the fourth dimension argued the passage of time we experience in the third dimension was actually movement in the fourth, hence the growth and decay of matter in time was a fiction that hid the universe's real, unchanging condition. Evoking the idea of two-dimensional forms moving into three dimensions on the canvas alluded to our own movement in fourth-dimensional "hyper-space." See Linda D. Henderson, *The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 274-299.
46. Charlotte Douglas, "Views from the New World: Kruchenykh and K. Malevich: Theory and Painting," *The Ardis Anthology of Russian Futurism*, ed. by Ellendea Proffer and Carl R. Proffer (Ann Arbor: Ardis Press, 1980), 361-362.
47. Kazimir Malevich, "To the New Limit," *Anarkhiya* March 27, 1918 in K.S. Malevich, *Essays on Art: 1915-1933 Vol. I*, trans. by Xenia Glowacki-Prus and Arnold McMillin, ed. by Trucks Andersen, (London: Rapp and Whitting, 1968), 56.
48. Kazimir Malevich, "Reply," *Anarkhiya* March 29, 1918 in Malevich, *Essays on Art Vol. I*, 52-54.
49. Kazimir Malevich, "Suprematism," Statements from the Catalogue of the Tenth State Exhibition: Non-objective Creation and Suprematism" in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism, 1902-1934* ed. and translated by John E. Joseph (New York: Viking Press, 1976), 143-145.
50. Malevich, "Suprematism," Statements from the Catalogue of the Tenth State Exhibition," 144.
51. *Ibid.*, 145.
52. *Ibid.*
53. A fragment from the New York Public Library's edition of *Anarkhiya* includes an article signed "Anti." Unfortunately too little of the article survives to analyze its contents.
54. Vavara Stepanova, "Notes from the Diary on the Preparation and Management of the 10th and 19th State Exhibitions," entry April 10, 1919 in Alexandr Rodchenko and Vavara Stepanova, *The Future is Our Only Goal*, ed. by Peter Noever, (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1991), 124.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Alexandr Rodchenko, "Rodchenko's System," Statements from the Catalogue of the Tenth State Exhibition: Non-objective Creation and Suprematism," in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde*, 149-151.
57. Stirner, *The Ego and His Own*, 453.
58. *Ibid.*, 482-483.
59. *Ibid.*, ed. *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde*, note 2, 305.
60. Stepanova, "Notes," entry April 10, 1919 in *The Future is Our Only Goal*, 125.
61. Stepanova, "Notes," entry April 29, 1919 in *The Future is Our Only Goal*, 126.
62. Raoul Vaneigem, *The Revolution of Everyday Life*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Rebel Press/Left Bank Books, 1994), 113.
63. Rodchenko, "O Diklad T. Zaleskogo v Proletkult," *Anarkhiya* n.d.
64. Christina Lodder, *Russian Constructivism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 94.
65. Paul Avrich, ed. *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Paperbacks, 1973), 138.
66. Avrich, ed., *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*, 156; Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, 230-231.
67. Khan-Magomedov, *Rodchenko: the Complete Work*, 278.

RUSSIAN WOMEN

Continued from Page 7



A Russian woman grows a crop of cabbage on the outskirts of Nizhny-Tagil.

by drawing women into farms and factories. Women performed the toughest and lowest-paid tasks within each sector of the economy. In 1961 Khrushchev remarked of agriculture: "It is the men who do the administration and the women who do the work."³

Until the 1980s, women made up over 50 percent of the workforce, yet on average they received 70 percent of the male wage. They carried the "double burden" of work outside the home and within it. Most Russian men consider housework beneath them.

Like in the Western world, the new enterprises employ women as clerks and secretaries rather than as managers or directors. No more than an estimated 1-2 percent of the new class of entrepreneurs are female.

"Women got practically nothing during the 'great carve-up' when Party and other property was divided up," says Olga Vovchenko of the Research Centre for the Social Protection of the Family. "It was mostly men from the nomenklatura who carried out this expropriation of the expropriators. Women were left as small-scale market traders... privatization passed women by."⁴

"I think it's the most outrageous discrimination. The bosses are nearly all men and the subordinates are women. It's just a reign of terror on the lines of 'I'm the boss and you're the idiot.'"⁵

Under economic rationalization women are the first to lose their official jobs. For every three men made redundant [laid off], there are seven women. The process is

Revolutions never make a clean break with a country's civilization. Russia was not a fundamentally different land before and after 1917—or before and after 1991.

accompanied by the usual rhetoric about "woman's natural role."

Women are not always unhappy to lose jobs which are stressful and poorly paid and where they often have to wait months to receive their salaries. I knew many women who welcomed redundancy as a

chance to devote more time to housework, childcare and earning a living. They used every resource at their disposal to survive—selling or bartering any available commodity: toilet paper, sex, vodka, piano lessons.

The transition to the market economy has for many been a return to a subsistence economy. Dachas are the key to survival—and an added burden for women. These are not the luxury villas of former party bosses, but kitchen gardens with wooden sheds in one corner. Most provincial families have access to a dacha; those who do not, exchange goods and services for their produce.

Women do most of the cultivation. They often have to stand for hours on public transport to reach their dachas; few can drive. In September, female energy pours into the labor-intensive task of preserving fruit and vegetables for the long winter.

It is women who have been the shock-absorbers of economic "shock therapy." If not for their efforts, the transition to a market economy would have resulted in mass starvation and complete social breakdown.

Just as their peasant forebears avoided conscription by fleeing beyond the borders of Muscovy,⁶ some young women are choosing to emigrate, usually through a real or a fictitious marriage to a foreigner. Life abroad may not fulfill expectations, but women hope it will be an alternative to intensely hard work, low status and life with a drunken husband. (Russian men have the world's highest alcoholism rate, and this has markedly increased since the collapse of the Soviet Union.)

Yet most Russian women still remain in their hometowns and marry local men. During my year in Samara I felt the cultural gulf yawn wide over the question of marriage. I could never understand the desperation of so many fascinating and capable women to form alliances with hopeless men. (This enigma is not uniquely Russian, but nowhere else have I noticed such a stark contrast between the sexes.)

Women wanted to marry as young as possible for fear of being "left on the shelf." Those in their twenties told me their greatest fear was to be an "ad" single

woman of 30 or 40. Divorcees in their thirties or forties scurried around trying to hook another mate. Women were certainly not fuelled by Harlequin fantasies; few harbored romantic illusions about domestic life. They were resigned to male unwillingness to help in the house or the dacha.

At best, they hoped for a husband with a limited taste for the bottle. When I asked female friends why they believed they needed husbands they thought me strange for even posing the question. My cultural blinkers finally dissolved when an exceptionally brilliant friend introduced me to her fiancé.

He was a pompous man of limited intelligence. I said I feared her future life with him might be desperately boring. She replied shortly that she did not love him but would learn to get along with her husband, as most women did. She said she enjoyed an interesting and entertaining life in her own head and with her closest female friends. Companionship was not something she sought in marriage.

What was important to her was to unite herself with a man who would work with her towards a shared economic goal.

I understood then that for centuries Russian women have viewed marriage as a survival strategy. They were terrified of the prospect of being unattached, free-floating particles in a world where everyone else was connected by an invisible web of family relations. A union with a man was also a union with his family and friends. Women felt marriage would anchor them in society; what they were anchored to was of comparatively small importance.

This attitude is a holdover from the Soviet past. Under the Soviet system everyone regarded the state as a massive storehouse of goods and services to be plundered. It was hard for lone individuals to gain access to this storehouse. Alliances had to be forged and the firmest of these were made through family connections.

Today the situation is changing as basic survival becomes the overwhelming preoccupation of the vast majority of Russians. Women feel that men are increasingly heavy economic and emotional burdens. A woman who works all day selling jeans in the street may not want to come



A World War II Soviet heroine displays her medals. She is the mother of the American group's translator in Nizhny-Tagil.

home to a man who drinks away all her profits. In the past her husband might have held a position in a factory from which he would have pilfered products to be sold or exchanged for vodka plus whatever goods the couple needed. The supply of filchable state resources is disappearing, and with it much male economic muscle.

Despite her broken back, the pensioner who lived in the room next to mine went out in all weathers to peddle plastic carrier bags. She was thereby able to keep her husband in vodka and eau de Cologne. In the early morning he would stagger in and collapse in the corridor. I could hear her cursing him as she dragged him through the door and put him to bed. She regarded him as a cross she had to bear and it was evident she would always support him.

Younger women are less prepared to follow suit. An acquaintance in her twenties told her fiancé that she would not marry him until he had set himself up in business. He was a college lecturer, a profession which no longer pays a living wage. She worked for a foreign company, and was not prepared to use her salary to keep her husband.

In today's era of wild capitalism individualism is filtering through all levels of society. The old economic basis for marriage is disappearing in Russia in a way that parallels the process in the West. But in Russia conditions are very different.

Feminism in the western sense scarcely exists as there is no mass of middle-class women howling for their slice of the capitalist pie. Crucially, Russia no longer provides any welfare support. My Russian friends were deeply puzzled over how I could exist in this world without a family—and also without a permanent job. (Their attempts to remedy the situation with "a nice Russian man" were politely rejected.) They were skeptical when I explained that British welfare payments were the basis of my "individualist" lifestyle.

The most fundamental changes to Russian society will be wrought by women. Few of them care who sits in Moscow's White House for they are almost completely excluded from formal political activity. Both democrats and nationalists expect them to stay at home and fulfill their womanly mission of breeding future cannon fodder. Women have already made it clear they are not prepared to do this. Many mothers went to Chechnya and organized their sons' escapes from the army.

Most significantly, the birth rate has already fallen below the rate of population replacement. This is partly because of a dramatic rise in the death rate over the last five years, but also due to a growing reluctance of women to give birth.⁷ If this process of refusal continues, political and social commentators will loudly and vainly bemoan the disappearance of the "traditional Russian family."

As in the West, the process, once begun, will be inexorable. I am not going to try to predict the shape of any future Russian society; I just want to return as soon as I can.

Notes:

1. See *Little Tenement on the Volga*, C.S. Walton (Claudia Press 1995).
2. L.D. Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution*.
3. Khrushchev, *Izvestiya* (December 26, 1961).
4. Quoted in *No More Heroines*, Bridger, Kay and Pinnick (Routledge 1996).
5. *Ibid*.
6. These runaway serfs were the original Cossacks.
7. In 1993 male life expectancy was 59 and falling, down from 65 in 1987.

the

issue 1

Anti-Racist Action Challenging The Right

Detroit Anti-Racist Action (ARA) formed over a year ago. Since its formation, it has been involved in campaigns against the gentrification of downtown Detroit with all the money going to rich folks (Illich, Ford, etc.) who don't live in the city or really care

U.S. and the Midwest by working to shut down Nazi and Klan rallies. A recent campaign succeeded in getting Nazis out of an Eastside clubhouse in Detroit.

The need to fight back is more pertinent today than in the past. Many hard won victories from past struggles are being lost so bosses can make even higher profits.

PRISONS

We are already seeing the resurfacing of slave labor in America's largest growth industry—prisons.

• In 1980 there

were 400,000 inmates nationwide; today 1.5 million Americans languish behind bars (an average of 455 people per 100,000, with a prison population growing by an average of 250 a day.) Between 1975-85 violent crime dropped 1.42% while the prison population doubled.

• While only making up 13% of the U.S. population, African-American

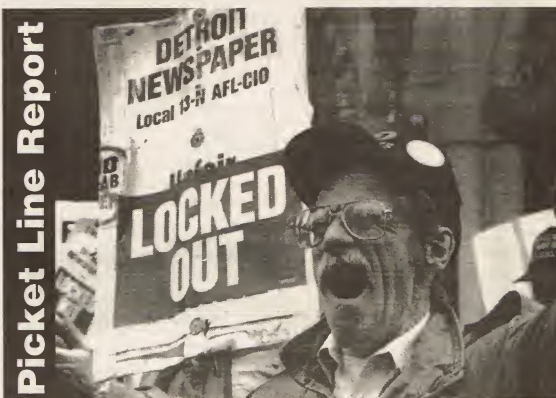
(Continued On Page 4)

**ONLY
YOU
CAN
FUCK SHIT
UP FOR
THE RICH**

ARA



about the welfare of people who live here. We have been involved in supporting groups like UPSET, which is fighting for a decent education for Detroit's children. We have done support work for the Dineh people in the Southwest who are facing forced relocation to benefit big business so they can strip mine the land for coal. We have been involved in fighting the upsurge of right wing groups in the



Picket Line Report

"On Strike" has become "Locked Out" on picket signs.

Class War OR Compromise

While the plug has been pulled on the Detroit newspaper strike, the picket line persists. The Detroit newspaper strike, now in its twentieth month, has become the Detroit newspaper lock-out. In mid-February word came down from the union brass that an offer of unconditional surrender was fast coming. And it did. Why would the 2,000 workers who have been striking for almost two years want to make an offer to return to work at pre-strike conditions, still

without a contract? Well, most of them didn't, but five out of six of the unions involved are nondemocratic, and don't accurately represent the wishes of the rank and file. Being on strike without permission from the internationals would mean an end to all the resources that these organizations represent (strike benefits and legal representation, for example).

Gannet-Knight Ridder accepted the offer less than a week after it was

(Continued On Page 4)

Big Mountain Under Attack—Midwest Lends Support

In February, a group of ten people ranging in age from 5 to over 50 left their homes in the Great Lakes to offer support and accompaniment to the Dine still engaged in a struggle for land and self determination that has lasted for over a hundred and thirty years.

Since 1864 when Kit Carson forced the Dine people to march from their ancestral lands to Fort Sumner in New Mexico, the Dine have been embattled for control of their land and livelihood. When the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1962 approved an exploration lease for 75,137 acres of Navajo Tribal land just north of the 1882 reservation (which later became Peabody's Kayenta Mine), a new cycle of devastation had been set in motion. Lines began to be drawn for a twenty year dispute between those who welcomed the corporations and "development" and those who wanted to honor and pre-

serve the ways of their ancestors.

Our local group had been in contact with the Sovereign Dine Nation office and they had related incidents of harassment and violence against those who stood in the way of the mine's current operation and expansion. Homes had been mysteriously bulldozed when residents were away, leaving their owners homeless (it is currently illegal for repairs or building to take place on the lands still in dispute). Animals had been poisoned or impounded at great cost to their owners. In one instance, a van used to transport elders to organizing meetings had been set afire and destroyed.

An important series of legal proceedings were being held in Phoenix, Arizona February 10-13 where testimony as to the impact of relocation was being solicited.

Residents of Hopi Partition Land and organizers were anxious to attend

to go on public record as being in opposition to the "Fairness Act" that would rob them of their homes. In an attempt to secure the safety of Dine homes in the absence of their owners, the SDN office sent out a call internationally for activists to come and help. During the week we were there, approximately 100 people from all over the U.S. (even a few folks from Germany and Denmark) answered the call.

We arrived in the evening in Flagstaff, where the SDN office is located. We were given maps with directions to take us onto the reservation and to the homesite of one of the organizer's families. We did not realize at the time how easy it is to get lost (even with explicit directions) for an outsider. The Dinétah is big country, beautiful and treacherous to those not used to its hazards of muddy and rocky roads. It was late and completely dark when we

found the Tso's residence. The situation had changed, even since we had left the SDN office a few hours before,

(Continued On Page 3)

IN THIS ISSUE

D.W.A.C.
Detroit Women's
Action Collective
page 2

Black & Green
page 2

**Detroit Anarchist
Black Cross Formed**
page 3

BLACK & GREEN

Recently, the Earth First! Journal ran a four page insert featuring the Black and Green collective (a biocentric anarchist group based in Harmony, Maine) and their projects. Members of the Trumbull Plex collective found their perspective insightful and inspiring. Due to a shortage of space in this issue, we were not able to reprint the fine articles contained in the EF! insert. However, we would like to entice *The Rumble* readers to find out more about the group by giving them a taste of Black and Green's take on several topics.

It is essential to stress that B and G does not profess a homogenous strategy, but rather encompasses a diversity of tactics as anarchists fighting for the natural world.

They state:

We come from different places and viewpoints. Some of us are militantly opposed to technology, while others aren't so militant. There are biocentric anarchists who work with MOVE and others who support their struggle against the State, but do not agree with their philosophy...We believe in the principles of biocentrism. We also believe that the entire power structure needs to be dismantled and replaced by a nonhierarchical society based on the principles of biocentrism.

We are not part of the typically left-based, ecoanarchist contingent...or the anthropocentric social ecologist movement, and although we do share the central principle of biocentrism, we are not deep ecologists. We are, simply, anarchists fighting for the natural world.

B and G pokes fun at the EF! movement by commenting on tactics and strategy.

They state:

I suggest that we shift our focus from defense to offense. All those hours spent dragging logs onto the road in a short lived attempt at de-

fending a place could be better spent attacking the buildings, vehicles, heavy machinery, and other assets of earth-destroying agencies and corporations...Learn to carefully play with matches and diesel fuel. If that is not your style, try neighborhood organizing. Leave the media out of the picture and take the offensive going door to door. Don't go there asking for money, Organize and patiently show people how to fit into the resistance.

They remind us that we fight a corrupt system and, at the same time, have become co-opted and corrupted by that same system

They state:

The technological-industrial empire, driven by the kulture of profit and "progress," of taking more than we need and destroying or enslaving the rest has left this planet with the life systems failing and sustainable humyn communities devastated. Ecological and social crisis surround us and are met by the system with only a steady and purposeful tightening of controls. We must continue to resist the destruction of humyn-cultural and biological diversity, but we must also free our minds and our lives of the ideology of technology and progress, and we must direct and evaluate our tactics and our strategies mindful of two things: that the system will never allow us more than short-term and superficial gains, and that while we are busy fighting on their terms, in their institutions the powers-that-be are tightening the noose that they know will be necessary when enough people have had enough of lies and misery and murder. Our resistance must stay grounded within our reverence for life and refuse any compromises from the empire of death.

For more information, please contact
Black and Green
POB 183
Harmony ME

NO WAR
BETWEEN NATIONS



NO PEACE
BETWEEN CLASSES

To Contact THE RUMBLE COLLECTIVE Please Write:

THE RUMBLE
c/o Fifth Estate

4632 Second Ave. • Detroit, MI 48201

D.W.A.C.!!

Detroit Women's Action Collective

Detroit Women's Action Collective is a new group in Detroit. It was formed in response to a need to build a community of women who support each other as they put their ideas into action. Not intended as a "NOW" type organization fighting to be equals in an oppressive society, the group hopes to create a unique women's culture based on shared power and an egalitarian society. Though planning to work on more than "women's" issues, the first project the DWAC has undertaken is a public education/harassment campaign against a phoney abortion clinic. Theater, leafletting and protests have already alerted the commu-

nity and demoralized the right to lifers at the clinic. The phoney clinic has also been hit at least twice by pesky mischief makers, liberally festooning it and the offensive billboard out front with paint. Also, a conference including workshops on the intersection of race and gender and alternative health systems is in the works for early summer, so stay tuned. If you are interested in DWAC, you can email them at BLTest@aol.com or attend twice monthly meetings on the first Sunday and third Tuesday of each month held at the Trumbull Theater in Detroit at 4210 Trumbull Ave. (@ the corner of Trumbull and Willis.)



YOU KNOW WHERE YOU CAN PUT YOUR



PATRIARCHY!!

.....and you see it in the grotesque chicken houses the tags of the numbers on the ears of cattle the pig farms...us...off on this unit The industrialization of life managed in Maniacal Minutiae. Total. Whole. The pretense of a false logic. Programs. Shitheads! They are lies. They are obscene! Damn their dark! Damn their light! More chickens! More cattle! More children... For your right to strife... Time. God is not dead! Your God is Death. And every day in this doing time machine at seven and noon and five the sirens of the Morlocks' wail. . . The howling of your holy trinity

Yours,
385599

Big Mountain Under Attack—Midwest Lends Support

and the families we had been assigned to (and which would have placed our group together in one geographic area) no longer needed the assistance of supporters. Frances Tso, a Dine organizer and our benefactor for the duration of our stay, quickly reassigned members of our group to various homesites. We parted company and supplies and separated into smaller groups of two and three. It was not until morning that it became clear we would maintain only minimal contact between the sites.

It is exactly these factors of distance and lack of telecommunication that make defense and support of the Dine resistors so challenging. But it is also these same things which make the Dine traditional life so worthy of preservation.

For my part, I was prepared for a week of facing down confrontational rangers, of taking photos of suspicious vehicles, of doing my best to nonviolently protect the home of the family where I had been placed. I was warned that the Dine are intolerant of freeloaders and expected supporters to help with the work of running a sheep ranch. Even so, it was only some small help in preparing me for the type of physical work that sheepherding, cooking, cleaning on a traditional Dine homesite might entail.

The morning after I arrived, I had a few hours to talk with our soon to be absent hostess, Leta O'Daniel. She told me of her work doing support for the elders of her community. Because of the legal restrictions on building and the herd limitations imposed on the Dine living on HPL, many families find that the young adult members have to move off the reservation to find work and places to live (it not being possible for their families to build them houses or feed them). This encourages their assimilation into Western culture and makes it more difficult for them to maintain ties to their families and the land. With these young people gone, there is less of a support system for the elders to depend on. Organizers like O'Daniel are trying to cover these responsibilities by caring for the elders, even as they work to make it possible for the young folk to return. In addition to this work, O'Daniel and her family work on a permaculture project that attempts to replace the plants that were present on the land before the current mining projects. It is her hope that the traditional Dine diet of gathered plants for teas, food and medicine can someday be returned to. Then the Dine would be able to be less dependent on animal husbandry, and would therefore be less vulnerable to restrictions on herd-size as a way to chase them off the land.

The Dine group left from Hardrock Chapterhouse by mid-morning headed for the Fairness Hearings and we were left behind (with the exception of one supporter from our group who went to help with transportation logistics in Phoenix), to attempt to manage things.

Days are long, beginning at dawn. A traditional (octagonal, one room) hogan has its doorway opening east, so the first view of the day is the rising sun. The concept of "beauty" is a cornerstone of Dine culture and there could be no more clear way of setting your mind in the proper frame to appreciate and contemplate beauty than to wake to an Arizona sunrise each day. The hogan I stayed in had a gas stove as well as a wood stove, so cooking was not too different than what I'm used to. There is no running water, so all cooking, cleaning and bathing entailed chopping water out of the ice in the storage barrels and heating it on the wood stove. The outhouse, which stands a bit outside the compound, had two fist sized holes punched into it. The owners joke that the vandals are taking their spying duties to an extreme. Breakfast and cleaning is done by 9am or so, and

then the sheep are released from their corral and basically followed to go where they want to begin grazing. Because of the fact that many livestock had been impounded recently by the Hopi Tribal Council, I was asked to keep the sheep away from the roads and to stay close. This proved to be quite a challenge as one sheep in particular seemed to know what a novice I was and purposefully kept me running to always keep one step (literally) ahead of him. I had been told to sit down to let the sheep graze, that they would go slowly if I did. Sometimes that worked. Often I had to figure out where my obstinate friend wanted to go and get there sooner (if it was an "off limits" place, like a neighbor's land or a road). It was mostly serene and contemplative to walk with the sheep, however.

The smell of sage as it was chewed by thirty sheep is pungent and fresh. The wind and the sun feel good and everywhere there is unspoiled natural beauty. When evening falls, the sheep are brought in. Usually this is around 5 or 6pm. They are fed scraps and penned back in the corral, with the dogs for protection from coyotes. Then there is dinner, dishes, some good conversation and bed.

It was the first time in my life that I lived without money, stores, traffic, noise pollution, the sounds of factories, the voice of advertisement persuading me to buy something, the unnatural routine of modern work and ever-present police. In short, it was lovely. The rhythms of a

good life were, healing even to an outsider like me. It was hard to match this experience with expectations of conflict that I had come with. But things seem to change quickly in this country, as many people were quick to assure me.

During my stay, I spoke with Dine supporters and residents who had in the past seen satellites hovering over the homesite where I stayed. Although things were relatively peaceful, twice planes buzzed the sheep scaring them. On one occasion, a truck slowed down to watch me and the sheep, drove on and then turned around to drive past us again. There was a sense of hush and anticipation, as if at any time the situation could become very different. Long-time residents told me that the cycles of violence had come and gone for as long as they could remember.

Because of our particular mission this time out, we got to spend very little time with Dine resistors. We hope in the future to organize another group to go out and participate in the fight to maintain sovereignty for the Dine, to preserve their lands from unwanted development and to protect them from harassment from Peabody, non-traditional Hopi's or other agents that come between them and the continuance of their traditional way of life.

The Sovereign Dine Nation office has put out a call to everyone to participate in a May campaign to create a human shield between the Dine resistors and the forces of relocation. Please contact the SDN office in Flagstaff at:

SDN
PO Box 30435
Flagstaff, AZ 86003



Peabody Coal wants the land at Big Mountain in order to strip it of its resources. If that means displacing an entire people for the company to turn a profit, so be it.

Detroit Anarchist Black Cross Formed

The Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) is an international network of autonomous groups working to ensure the imprisoned faction of our movement is not forgotten.

The origins of the ABC date back prior to the Russian Revolution. An Anarchist Red Cross was formed in Tsarist Russia to organize aid for political prisoners and their families and as defense against political raids by the Cossack army. During the Russian Civil War, the organization changed its name to the Black Cross to avoid confusion with the Red Cross who were organizing relief in the country.

After the Bolsheviks seized power, the Black Cross moved to Berlin. It

continued to aid prisoners of the Leninist regime, as well as victims of Italian fascism and others. Despite the increasing demand for its services, the Black Cross folded in the 40's due to a decline in available finances. In the late 1960s, the organization resurfaced in England where it initially worked to aid prisoners of the Spanish resistance to Franco's fascist regime. In the 80's, the ABC expanded and now has groups in many different regions of the world, including the U.S. and Canada.

Recently, a new chapter was formed

in Detroit. This chapter will support the struggles of prisoners in general and of political prisoners/prisoners of war in particular. We believe prisons

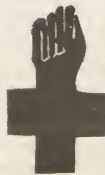
serve no function but to preserve the ruling elite. We also believe that a free society must find an alternative, effective way to deal with anti-social behavior.

But a decrease in crime is only likely to happen (and therefore prison abolition can only be a realistic option) accompanied by a dramatic change in our economic, social and political system. These conditions lie at the root of both anti-social crime and the reasons for a prison system. We work as anar-

chists for a stateless, cooperative society free from privilege or domination. But it's not enough to build the grassroots movement necessary to bring about these changes in society. We must also be able to defend. ABC aids those who are captured and persecuted for carrying out acts on behalf of our movements.

If you want to get involved, donate some time or resources to support this important work, please contact:

Detroit ABC
c/o Fifth Estate
4632 Second Ave.
Detroit MI 48201



Anti-Racist Action Challenging The Right

males are over half of state and federal prisoners.

• In 1994, 72,461 inmates created \$1.35 billion worth of products, up from \$362 million in 1980. Jobs that left the U.S. during the beginning stages of NAFTA are now returning as enslaved prison labor paying only nothing to \$1.15/hr.

WELFARE REFORM

Welfare is being attacked with the end result being people going hungry and homeless in a country with empty buildings and food rotting in warehouses. Welfare reform in the form of workfare is being used to break unions. In New York City, people in the Work Experience Program (so-called workfare), who receive welfare must add their cash benefit to their food stamps, divide by minimum wage, and work that number of hours per month for the city.

This gives the impression of regular, part time jobs, but consider: they have no choice of where to work, no health or safety protections, no guarantee of childcare, no grievance procedures, no days off, no exemption for education, and no job when their benefits and workfare end. It is not surprising that these welfare recipients are being used to break the city workers union.

RISE IN THE RIGHT

In the past several years we have

seen what results from a well funded, organized and armed right wing movement. Recently, anti-choice terrorists have been actively upping the stakes on the issue of a woman's right to control her own body and life by bombing several clinics across the U.S. Last Summer over 30 black Southern churches were. With the passage of California's Prop. 187 and armed thugs patrolling the U.S.-Mexican border, we see more organized and violent actions against immigrants. In Lansing this past November, well-funded right-wing groups overturned a civil rights ordinance that protected queers, one that the majority of Lansing citizens supported.

What this all adds up to is an environment where people of color, wimmin, queers, the poor, and other oppressed people are scapegoated and attacked for the problems that the bosses and the state hands down to us.

ANTI-RACIST ACTION (ARA) SOLUTIONS

ARA is taking direct action against the problems that confront us today and organizing to make a real change for tomorrow. Not changes that have the same problems resurfacing with different people getting screwed, but solutions in which people make the decisions that effect their lives and help build an anti-authoritarian, egalitarian society. When the police brutal-

ize a community, we will take action against them, but we will also organize in communities so real solutions can be found to get rid of the occupying force for good.

WHAT IS ARA ALL ABOUT?

Anti-Racist Action is a multi-racial, anti-sexist, pro-queer organization dedicated to fighting oppression in all forms through direct action. ARA has over 40 chapters in the U.S. and Canada; all are autonomous, but communicate and coordinate actions through the Anti-Racist Action Network.

ARA PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

- 1.) Fight against racism, sexism, homophobia, imperialism, and other forms of oppression.
- 2.) No reliance on the cops or courts.
- 3.) Non-sectarian defense of arrested, anti-fascist activists.
- 4.) Same time, same place direct action against fascist mobilizations.

GET INVOLVED!!

To get in touch with Detroit ARA, please write:
ARA
PO BOX 321211
Detroit, MI 48232

"As a movement 'it is essential that we do not abandon our brave comrades who place their own freedom second to those of the animals and Earth.'"

Rod Coronado

The Direct Action Defense Fund was established in direct response to the increased activities of groups such as the Animal and Earth Liberation Front's and other individuals who have chosen the path to animal and earth liberation. It is critical to offer support (and bail) in the first few days after arrest to a captured warrior so that they can be better physically and psychologically prepared to launch a legal defense. The Direct Action Defense Fund recognizes that what is most important for the direct action warrior is to return to the battle for earth and animals as soon as possible.

But this fund can only offer its support if its coffers are not empty. 100 percent of all contributions are used to directly aid activists. It is not enough to voice our support, we must make that support real with action. Please contact and contribute to:

Direct Action Defense Fund
P.O. Box 57357
Tucson AZ 85732-7357
(502) 795-5171

Picket Line Report

made. The company plans on keeping all its scabs. To date, the company has only offered ten people their jobs back, or rather jobs period- one out of two of the formal offers would include demotions so severe that it is clear that they are creating a situation in which it would be impossible for anyone to accept the offered positions. If a return-to-work offer is rejected, it carries the same legal ramifications as officially quitting would. Not that any of this affects the 1,990 workers who have not heard, and are not likely to hear, from the papers. The only thing that changes for them is the word used to describe their reality. The strike becomes a "lock-out", but you still don't have a job.

The union management is pursuing unfair labor practice complaints with the National Labor Relations Board. The hope here is that the NLRB will force the company to bring back any worker that hasn't been fired for picket line misconduct, and shell out back-pay from the date that the unconditional surrender offer was made. Even if this plan is successful, it won't be much of a victory since it would allow the company (and the union) to rid itself of the people who have been most active in the strike. The locked-out workers who have been fired are the people who have been the most consistent and vehement in organizing to win this thing, and walking the picket line.

This isn't as alarming a possibility as it sounds, however, because it would still entail the federal government of the U.S. to come down on the side of labor. There is no real precedent for that happening. From its very inception, the union movement in this country began its demise, as it curtailed wild-cat strikes and made worker-boss relationships a governable process. It's all been downhill from there. Legally, some people never get to strike ("threat to national Security"), some strikes can be called off by the government and all picket line activity is strictly regulated. Companies can permanently replace their workers and the government plays a leading role every time a union is destroyed. So, as weak a victory for labor as a government-forced rehiring might be, there is little reason to believe that the government would do even that much.

The unions were harassed enough to throw the rank-and-file a bone even as it sold them down the river. As a result of much agitation on the part of

Class War OR Compromise

locked-out workers, there will be a national march on Detroit this June. Tactically, little has changed. The only real recourse that "locked-out" workers have is to find a way to make it more inconvenient to crush the unions than not to.

Since the company has already spent a quarter of a billion dollars on busting this union, it's clear that applying pressure directly to the source has been ineffectual. Gannet-Knight Ridder have shown us that they are willing to do whatever it takes to end organized labor in this country. No price is too high to pay upfront, when in the end they will never again have to pay out a living wage at any of their businesses.

There are people who could force them to the bargaining table, however. The city could stop spending money on cops to defend the company, or it could tell them that until this is settled that the papers aren't going to be sold on city property, or it could make it impossible for business as usual to continue. But why would the city want to do all that? Well, they might want to do that if we, instead of shutting down the ambassador bridge as a symbolic act of resistance for an hour or two, took it hostage. They might want to because all of the highways got shut down, and big money conventions were disrupted, or a

general strike was executed. There are lots of ways to get the attention of the powers that be, and we have already seen several actions along these lines carried out. A formal campaign to shut down motown has been formulated and begun. A general strike committee has been formed. If we can step up this campaign of inconvenience and embarrassment in the city of Detroit and culminate it with an even mildly successful general strike, we can still turn this situation around.

This strike is going to end soon and it's either going to end as a victory for the ruling class of this county or the working class, and that has nothing to do with newspapers.

If you want to be involved in this struggle, please come to Detroit and participate in the general strike on June 20 and the national march on Detroit on June 21. For more information, please call 313.831.6150.

- CAI



Dead Meat

Dead Meat, drawings by Sue Coe, with an essay by Alexander Cockburn, Four Walls Eight Windows Press, New York-London, 1996, \$ 22

by Alon Raab

"As often as Herman had witnessed the slaughter of animals and fish, he always had the same thought: in their behavior towards creatures, all men were Nazis. The smugness which man could do with other species as he pleased exemplified the most extreme racist theories, the principle that might is right... for the animals, life is always Treblinka."

—from *Enemies: A Love Story*, Isaac Bashevis Singer

By now the facts are well known: Every minute about ten thousand animals are murdered in the United States—more than five billion animals a year end their lives on someone's plate.

The facade of "Happy Meals" served at McDeath and McGarbage outlets, under signs proudly proclaiming "over zillions slaughtered," no longer manages to hide the destruction of tropical rain forests burned to raise cattle, or the great misery involved in the "meat industry." Yet, even for long-time vegans and those active in the animal liberation movement, Sue Coe's book manages to disturb, anger, and sadden.

Dead Meat is comprised of Coe's startling drawings and accompanying descriptions of her two years in a world governed under the sign of the exploitation and murder of animals. We are taken along on her journey through hell.

From a Liverpool slaughter house, straight out of the 19th century, where the workers waded up to their knees in the blood of their victims, to an ultra modern "state of the art" assembly line where every operation is mechanized and computerized, we experience the horrors. In the factory farms where the animals are born, the crowded cages devoid of sun, air or soil, the snatching of animals and their long journeys on crowded trains or trucks in the heat and cold, the herding with electric prods, the loss of their babies and friends—Coe is there with her pen. She shows the terror in the eyes of the animals, the speed of the knife, the internal organs spilling from living creatures still breathing, the rivers of muck and blood, the cries of helplessness and incomprehension.

Animals are at the center of the book, but Coe also pays attention to the humans with whom they come in deadly contact. The people appearing in her drawings include workers toiling under humiliating conditions, rich farm barons, and "scientists" at respectable universities who, under the pretense of engaging in genetics research, play at being gods. Coe shows what this industry of torture does to animals whose sacredness has been violated, and to the humans as well. There are workers who have lost fingers and suffer from carpal tunnel syndrome, whose eyes often betray cruelty or callousness to the suffering of others.

Coe excels at pointing out the hypocrisies rampant in modern industrial society, such as showing the "Say no to drugs" cliché adorning cartons with milk that flows from cows pumped throughout their lives with growth hormones and antibiotics. The power that propels her art, how-

Excuse me, sir, there's a piece of dead cow on your fork.



"Judas Sheep" from Sue Coe's *Dead Meat*

ever, is the ability to face the atrocities, as well as her world view. Coe is not a liberal who hopes animals will have a little more grass or bigger cages. She is a radical, a descendent of such artists as Goya, Grosz, and Kollowitz who wanted to change the world, and she uses details in order to sharpen the way we relate to animals, to each other, and to ourselves.

Coe emphasizes class divisions of the meat industry. The bosses and factory owners who reap gigantic profits leave the bloody slush and filth to the mostly uneducated people of color for whom these jobs are often the only way to survive. She exposes politicians like Clinton who, as Arkansas governor, enjoyed large campaign contributions from chicken farm empire owners such as Tyson, later rewarding them with generous corporate

welfare handouts.

A major part of the work's impact is derived from Coe's refusal to feel morally superior to the workers. She talks with them, befriends several, and refuses to view them as mere abstractions. Relecting on her own life as a daughter of an English working class family whose childhood home was close by a slaughterhouse, Coe knows these workers are also victims.

Coe's work has always been about debunking the myths of capitalism, industrialization, the modern state. In *How to commit Suicide in South Africa* she highlighted the apartheid system and the corporations and individuals in the "free world" who propped it up while enjoying its benefits.

In *X*, she focused on the life and murder of Malcolm X but also on the forces of

racism that poison the world. In *Police State*, her gaze turned to the war society and its violence, from Reagan and his cronies waging wars abroad to the cop heating up ghetto poor. *Dead Meat* exposes the myth of happy animals living on a family farm under the loving care of a smiling farmer. She also demolishes the myth that it is possible to separate what we swallow every day from how that food came to be.

As Coe emphasizes, everything in modern industrial society is connected, and the way animals are treated is but part of the larger relations of power and exploitation on which the lie of civilization is based. It is therefore no coincidence that so many of the factory farms resemble the death camps we have become familiar with in this century of "progress"—in Nazi Europe, Cambodia, China, the Gulags, Bosnia, Rwanda, Chile.

In one painting, we see a pile of carcasses and above them, Mr. Swift of Swift and Company, "Butcher to the World", and in his hands, bags of money, dripping blood. In the next painting, titled simply, "Wall Street," a river of blood and animal parts flows outside the Stock Exchange. Even the sign announcing this center of international business is splattered with blood, and two business men, burying themselves in their financial paper, are oblivious of their actions.

"Wall Street was originally an abattoir; blood drained from the street into the East river," Coe reminds us. "The stockyard became the Stock Market."

There are no solutions offered in these pages. No paintings of Animal Liberation Front (ALF) activists destroying torture equipment or happy vegans playing with happy sheep in sunny meadows grace this book. Yet the lines and images contain within them a call for making connections and moving beyond the horror.

There are many good people who know and care about the exploitation of Nike workers in Indonesia and the destruction of native sacred sites in the Pacific North-

Continued on page 28

Looking At Animals: Is There A Third Choice?

Everyone knows the origin of meat, but few want to face the facts. Sue Coe's art and Alon Raab's review invite the reader to a "naked lunch," Burrough's pungent phrase for that moment when everyone sees what's on the end of everyone else's fork. But at this meal, it's a bloody carcass of a being that lived a miserable life and suffered a horrendous death before ending up as a burger on your plate.

Animal rights as theory and animal liberation as action erupted quickly and mostly unchallenged during this decade in the anarchist and radical environmental milieu, but given the almost universal instrumental use of our fellow creatures, it seems necessary to examine the ethical foundation for opposition to animal slaughter. This seems particularly the case if there is an expectation of sympathy for what is essentially a new paradigm for relating to non-humans.

My own 26-year abstention from meat and poultry was based initially on dietary and health concerns, but I continued eating seafood since it is part of the macrobiotic/Japanese diet which first influenced me. Later, when considering the ethics of ingesting flesh, I justified my diet based on my willingness to participate directly in killing. Having fished at different times in my life, I've caught (suffocated), beheaded, cut open and eviscerated fish before cooking them up.

By this yardstick, I held supermarket shoppers in contempt for buying so-called steaks or chops (euphemisms for what Carolyn Adams calls in her uneven *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, "the missing referent," i.e., the dead animal). Before dinner came in styrofoam trays covered in plastic wrap, carnivores knew the slaughter process intimately. They didn't hide from their deed, nor did I. In this regard, hunters got off my ethical hook since they made the kill, saw the spark of life fade in their prey's eyes, and gutted the animal elbow deep in intestines and blood.

A demand today for meat eaters to conduct their own kill and butchering would undoubtedly create a massive jump in the number of vegetar-

Continued on Page 30



Animal rights activist struggles with cop for a wounded pigeon at Hegins, Penn.

Bookchin Agonistes: How Murray Bookchin's attempts to "reenchant humanity" become a pugilistic Bacchanal

by Max Cafard

Murray Bookchin, *Re-enchanting Humanity: A defense of the human spirit against anti-humanism, misanthropy, mysticism and primitivism* (London: Cassell, 1995) 284 pp.

In this book Murray Bookchin is out to clobber the competition. He's been in training for this one for decades. In his previous works, he explained the crucial importance of developing a "muscularity of thought," and revealed that his "ecological project" is a "social gymnasium for shedding the sense of powerlessness." After much working out in that gym, he's developed some enormous intellectual muscles, and is a powerful guy indeed. He's often told us of his contempt for those sissified Eastern philosophers and their weak, "passive receptive" outlooks. This philosophical Marlboro Man is firmly in the Western tradition, which is, he explains, "sturdier in its thrust than the Eastern." There will be no questions about the "sturdiness" of Murray Bookchin's "thrust"! He has passed through the steeling school of politics, which, he tells us, is concerned with "forging a self." Once out of the forge, the safely armored self will always be on its guard. For "the guarded mind," he says, is the only guarantee that we will be "guided by the thin line of truth." This "guarded mind," rigidly following the correct "line" is, he concludes, nothing less than "a fortress." *Eine feste Burg ist unser Geist*. When Murray Bookchin writes a book defending "the spirit," it's the the spirit that comes out swinging.

Bookchin is convinced that the best defense of humanity or anything else is a good offense, and in this book we see him at his most aggressively offensive. Needless to say, such a muscle-bound thinker can "re-enchant humanity" only in the most ironic sense. And, indeed, his book is no breathless celebration of the wonders of humanity. Rather, it is a carping, acrimonious and often unscrupulous tirade against certain unfortunate humans who happen to disagree with Murray Bookchin's views about humanity. More appropriate titles for such a work might be *The Re-enchantment of the Kvetch*, *The Phenomenology of Spite*, or (après Jabès) *The Book of Complaints*.

Please do not think that I underestimate the contributions of Murray Bookchin to the history of philosophy. With the "muscularity of thought" of which he is so proud he could certainly have made his mark as a lightweight, welterweight or even middleweight philosopher. He could even have made a career of beating up on featherweight and flyweight philosophers—a ploy that he has in fact used to his philosophico-pugilistic advantage in recent years. In short, philosophically speaking, he coulda been a contendin'.

But no! He was never satisfied with such modest success and aspired to the heavy weight championship. Tired of waiting for his shot at the title, he finally appointed himself referee and judge, and then declared himself undisputed champion of the philosophical world by a

yew-nanimous decision. He doesn't seem to realize that he's gotten way out of his class. At times he shadowboxes against real heavyweights and has serious trouble connecting. Or he spends his time stumbling around an imaginary ring, insulting the competition. Sometimes he comes across like a theoretical bum. Which brings us to this book.

Crimes against humanity

One of Bookchin's major targets in this "defense" of humanity is what he considers "anti-humanist" viewpoints, which he hastens to equate with "anti-human" and "misanthropic" ones. While he has recklessly leveled the charge of "anti-humanism" at numerous competing ecological thinkers, he now selects some for a more scathing indictment. Those who have any familiarity with the works of such amiable

figures as E. F. Schumacher, William Irwin Thompson, Thomas Berry and Matthew Fox will be surprised by Bookchin's startling revelation that they are one and all card-carrying "anti-human misanthropes." But for Bookchin, slander has become, so to speak, "second nature."

While libelous charges should not be dignified with a lengthy rebuttal, some brief examples of his most outrageous distortions will demonstrate the lengths to which our enchanted humanist is willing to go. In *The Dream of the Earth* Thomas Berry describes humanity as "that being in whom the universe reflects on and celebrates itself." In a previous "analysis," Bookchin managed to dig up one carefully-selected passage from the same work and quote it out of context to create the absolutely false impression that Berry sees humanity as nothing more than "a de-

monic presence" on this planet. Having perpetrated such a deception, Bookchin now feels justified in dismissing Berry as a "misanthrope" without even a pretense of documentation.

Referring to Schumacher et al., Bookchin comments that the views of these "presumably sophisticated antihumanists are often the stuff from which the crassest of vulgarities are written for consumption by the New Agers of California and, in recent years, nearly all other points of the compass." (p. 14) The result, he claims, is a "New Age mentality that demonizes human beings in whole or in part." (p. 3) It matters little to Bookchin that these thinkers have little in common with what is usually considered a "New Age" outlook. It matters little that actual New Age tendencies typically do not demonize humanity but rather project an unrealistic and simplistic image of human self-transcendence. Bookchin's single-minded (and often simple-minded) goal is to discredit the theoretical competition by any means possible. And since most of the readers of these theorists' works are presumably human beings, demonstrating his rivals' complete and utter hatred for anything human must seem quite a promising approach to him.

Bookchin's crusade against "anti-humanism" also focuses on thinkers like E. O. Wilson and Richard Dawkins, who, despite their scientific training and semblance of intelligence, supposedly fail to recognize differences between *homo sapiens* and other species. Much of Bookchin's polemic takes on an inadvertently Swiftian quality as he launches into a heroic and bombastic defense of the proposition that there are indeed differences between man and beast. He wastes many pages marshaling empirical evidence and fulminating indignantly on behalf of the proposition that nothing from an amoeba up to the best educated chimp could possibly write the collected works of Shakespeare. One can almost hear him remarking: "and frankly—call me anthropocentric if you will—they couldn't even come up with a good sonnet!" Lest the reader think that I unduly exaggerate, I must quote Bookchin himself, who hastens to assure us that "there is not a shred of evidence to support a belief that animals have faith in anything. Nor do we expect them to have faith, let alone act rationally, with respect to anything *aside from their survival*." (p. 19, emphasis added) Whoops! So the clever little critters sometimes *do* actually act rationally. At this point both we and the animals begin to lose whatever faith we may have had in Murray Bookchin's ability to write coherently, let alone think carefully.

As in so many of Bookchin's "analyses," he gives his opponent a less-than-gentle push down the slipperiest of slopes leading inevitably to fascism. "Many of Wilson's notions were previously advanced by the quasi-romantic biologicistic movements of central Europe during the 1920s, movements that took an exceptionally reactionary form between 1914 and 1945 and that fed directly into National Socialist ideology." (p. 57) Lacking the scientific background to reply coherently

I do not underestimate the contributions of Murray Bookchin to the history of philosophy. With the "muscularity of thought" of which he is so proud he could certainly have made his mark as a lightweight, welterweight or even middleweight philosopher.



"... He abuses the office entrusted to him to annoy everyone who knows him..." —Francisco Goya, capricho 76, *Los caprichos*

to Wilson, Bookchin (the enraged autodidact with an axe to grind) produces his all-purpose ideological one.

It is not only intellectuals who incur his wrath for their "anti-human" activities and who find themselves implicated in fascism. Bookchin also targets Earth First! members and bioregionalists when he harshly attacks those dangerous individuals who engage in "childishly howling around campfires" (p. 23) or participate in "a juvenile 'Council of All Beings.'" (p. 23) What, one might wonder, is so objectionable about a bit of good-natured howling or pretending that one is a fish (if we may reasonably assume that participants in such councils do not get confused and actually think they are fish)? Bookchin complains that such "antics" can "easily become sinister when they are used to create atavistic movements, socially reactionary impulses, and dangerous fantasies that obstruct attempts to change an irrational society into a rational one." By the end of the paragraph the unfortunate campers and fish-impersonators are found to exhibit "disturbing parallels to earlier movements" that helped "make the twentieth century one of the bloodiest in history." (p. 23)

Ignorance of the law of karma is no excuse

Topics on which Bookchin loves to make *ex cathedra* pronouncements based on the most patent ignorance are mysticism, "spiritual" phenomena, and Eastern philosophy and religion. In reality, he knows little if anything about the history, literature or phenomenology of mysticism. He has apparently met a few local mystics in Burlington, Vermont, heard about some in California (which he calls the "Mystical Zone"), and read a few popularized works. By Bookchinesque standards of scholarship this is a more than adequate basis for the most sweeping generalizations on the subject. Mysticism, he tells us, "makes its strongest appeal to the authority of belief over thought." (p. 86) But this is complete nonsense. One reason why so many mystics have gotten into trouble over the ages is that their outlook so often clashes with systems of belief, including the most orthodox ones, and because it typically privileges direct experience over any sort of authority. Nor would most mystics recognize the mysticism of Bookchin's parody, in which its salient characteristics are that it is "warm, subjective, caring, and feminine." (p. 86) He seems to have confused his mysticism polemic with his standard diatribe against ecofeminism, another outlook that he considers irredeemably "passive-receptive" and lacking in that crucial "muscularity of thought."

Bookchin is concerned with policing the ecology movement for the possible growth of such mystical tendencies. He grudgingly concedes that despite the dangers of mystico-misanthropy, not "all ecomytics are necessarily misanthropes." (p. 87) No doubt some of his best friends are ecomytics. But this is hardly a generous concession, since misanthropy is rather difficult to find among mystics, "eco-" or otherwise. In fact, the best known contemporary "ecomystic," Starhawk, has nothing but the most affirmative sentiments about humanity, as anyone who has read her books or heard her speak can testify. This has not deterred Bookchin from sarcastically labeling her "Starvulture" and dismissing her ideas with complete contempt.

What Bookchin seems to find particu-

larly repellent is the tendency of mysticism and Eastern philosophy to produce "passive-receptive personalities." He has long propagated the view that Taoism has been historically nothing more than a means of keeping the peasants under control, and, when transplanted to North America, becomes a useful tool of capitalism. Such vulgar leftist platitudes continue in the present work. Indeed, they get worse. Returning to the topic of Eastern traditions near the end of the book, Bookchin sinks to a new level of ignorance and parochialism. Flippantly dismissing the charge that his view might appear "Eurocentric," he pronounces "the fatalistic religion of the East" not to be "on a level comparable to revolutionary Puritanism," and declares Taoism and Buddhism not to be "comparable to the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and socialism in its various forms, let alone to such great social eruptions as the English, American, and French revolutions." (p. 257)

There is a great deal of nonsense in this statement, not the least of which is the idea that any single historical event, even an important revolution, could somehow be on a much higher "level" than Buddhism, the most significant cultural and philosophical force in Asia over a period of 2500 years. Nor is Bookchin qualified to make such authoritative pronouncements about where Taoism rates in his simplistic 1-to-10 scale of social phenomena. Although he has had this basic distinction patiently explained to him several times, he continually confuses ancient Taoist philosophy (the *Tao Chia*) with the often superstitious and hierarchical Taoist religious sect (the *Tao Chiao*). Their radically divergent principles are explained in any good introductory text in Chinese philosophy. Yet Mr. Rationality has continued, either deceptively or self-deceptively, to confound principles and practices when this is useful in his diatribes against Taoism and other spiritual traditions.

Shallow and rather anti-social

For ten years Bookchin has been obsessed with his vendetta against deep ecology. Despite his vague anti-corporate rhetoric, one will search Bookchin's work in vain for a detailed analysis of the social and ecological transgressions of a single transnational corporation. On the other hand, one will find excruciatingly detailed explanations of how various deep ecologists are a clear and present danger to planet earth. But don't bother to look. His valid points have been stated better by less rabid and more coherent critics, while the vast majority of his remarks have consisted of hasty generalizations, *ad hominem* fallacies, flimsy slippery slope arguments, and outright nonsense.

Bookchin's comments on the influence of deep ecology illustrate his usual obliviousness to contemporary culture. He labors under the bizarre illusion that were it not for deep ecology and certain other cultural trends (including "lifestyle anarchism") that he imagines to have deluded the masses, American society would long ago have embraced radical politics, and specifically his radical politics, which he devoutly believes to have all the compelling qualities of revealed truth. For Bookchin, deep ecology has achieved its extraordinary success (which for him means that it has received considerably more attention than have his own ideas) because it "was an excellent analgesic for the intellectual headaches of a culture that

Bookchin believes that were it not for cultural trends like deep ecology and "lifestyle anarchism," American society would long ago have embraced radical politics, specifically his politics, which he devoutly believes to have all the compelling qualities of revealed truth.



Francisco Goya, *Capricho 39*

book reviews

felt more at home with Disneyland and Hollywood than with political radicalism." (p. 93) Bookchin must get all his news from *Green Perspectives*. [Editor's note: An obscure publication that publishes nothing but articles by Murray Bookchin and his faithful exegete Janet Biehl.] To the extent that the mainstream culture is even aware of deep ecology, it sees it more as a latter-day Communist plot rather than a cure for its headaches.

Let's be realistic. Had deep ecology never appeared, Bookchin's political ideas would have remained as socially insignificant as they are at present, and he would be attacking some other competing philosophy as the new opiate of the masses concocted by those sly counter-revolutionaries. The lack of appeal of Bookchinism is caused neither by deep ecology nor by "lifestyle anarchism," but rather by the fact that it is a narrow, culturally brain-dead dogmatism, enclosed within its own ideological universe and willfully out of touch with the messy realities of any world that might be vaguely familiar to actual people.

In a rather garbled statement, Bookchin notes that "not surprisingly, the phrase *deep ecology* first appeared as the title of a book which was in an anthology [sic] edited by Michael Tobias in 1984." (p. 96) He doesn't bother to explain what might be either surprising or unsurprising about this obscure fact. However, what many might find not only surprising but indeed astounding, in view of Bookchin's later indictment of anyone using the term "deep ecology" in an even vaguely positive sense, is the fact that he himself contributed an essay to the volume in question. In a footnote, he attempts to defend his decision to participate by hypocritically claiming that "at the time, I protested the use of this title for an anthology containing my article, 'Toward a Philosophy of Nature,' only to be reassured by Tobias that the anthology contained many people [sic] who were not deepecologists, including Garrett Hardin!" (p. 117)

Bookchin is transparently engaged in rewriting history (as pathetically petty as the scale of this history may be). The fact

is that Mr. Tobias solicited essays for a book entitled *Deep Ecology* and Prof. Bookchin voluntarily chose to contribute an article appearing under that rubric. If Bookchin did not want to include his essay in a work with that title, he was certainly free to exercise the great anarchist right of voluntary (non-)association and have nothing to do with the whole business. Furthermore, if Tobias actually presented to Bookchin the ridiculous argument that the latter recounts, this should have given him even more reason to reject the project. But no! Instead, he voluntarily agreed to the publication of his own article under the rubric of "deep ecology" and then went on to condemn others for using the same term in even the most generic sense, accusing them of everything from hatred of humanity to crypto-fascism.

Let's look carefully at a bit of Bookchin's supposedly devastating critique of deep ecology. His arguments almost invariably reveal his ineptitude in philosophical analysis. This is illustrated well by his discussion of the concept of "biocentric equality" that is held by some (though not all) deep ecologists. In his view, "[i]f the self must merge — or dissolve, as I claim, into rain forests, ecosystems, mountains, rivers 'and so on,' these phenomena must share in the intellectuality, imagination, foresight, communicative abilities, and empathy that human beings possess, that is, if 'biocentric equality' is to have any meaning." (p. 100) In fact, "biocentric equality" is a rather confused concept that I have made good clean fun of elsewhere; however, one will not discover why by listening to Bookchin's superficial and unsupported "claims."

Bookchin once stated that "when a rational society is achieved, its citizens will at least be more rational than Max Cafard and his ilk." Admittedly, I (and perhaps even I and my entire ilk, taken collectively) have only a modest store of rationality. But let's talk reason.

Listen, Bookchin! Listen to *reason*:

First, if one contends that a human

continued on next page

Bookchin Agonistes

Continued from Previous Page

being and a river, for instance, are both part of a larger "self," this in no way implies that the river possesses any capacity for "empathy," any more than it implies that the human being thereby possesses the capacity to be a home for fish. Rather, it only implies that the larger whole of which they are both a part (called the "larger self" in this view) has both these capacities in some sense.

Secondly, the concept of "biocentric equality" has no implication of "equality of qualities" among those beings to whom (or to which) the equality is attributed. Indeed, this concept, like most concepts of moral equality, are significant precisely because they attribute such equality to beings that are in other important ways *unequal*. Deep ecologists and other ecophilosophers who employ concepts such as "equal intrinsic value" or "equal inherent worth" clearly mean that certain beings deserve equal consideration or equal treatment, not that they possess certain faculties or characteristics to an equal degree.

The fact that Bookchin takes as the only possible meaning for the concept of biocentric equality the one he can most easily attack betrays his habitual role of the amateur philosopher ineptly jousting with caricatures of his opponents' views.

Defies the laws of thought

Unfortunately, even my extraordinarily indulgent editors will not allow me the space to summarize the collection of logical fallacies and faulty analysis this book has provided. I will therefore limit myself to a few of the most flagrant examples of Bad Analysis.

Bookchin has always been confused on the relationship between nature and culture. His vague statements about "first" and "second nature" (nature and culture) and about things "grading" into one another now increasingly give way to more obvious confusion and self-contradiction. For example, he states that "[a]n institutionalized community, composed of structured family groups, constitutes the initial biological basis of second nature." (p. 29) He seems to mean by "second nature" something like human culture, and institutions and social structures are certainly cultural, not merely biological. How, then, can an institutionalized community, a product and constituent of culture, be the *biological* basis for culture?

Bookchin does introduce one new theoretical category into his discussion of this topic. While for twenty years he's been propounding the presumably illuminating theory that "first nature *grades* into second nature" we are now vouchsafed a new revelation: second nature "*eases* in a graded way out of first nature." (p. 30) Some may find the idea of sudden qualitative jumps and things emerging unsuspected out of other things highly disturbing. Fortunately, Bookchin has delivered us from such untoward dialectical movements. Things *just kind of ease* into one another.

Often Bookchin refutes his own arguments by unwisely quoting too much of his intended victim's text. For example, he attacks Richard Dawkins for both incoherence and anti-humanism. While he fails in his sketchy analysis to give any evi-



"They've already got a seat." —Capricho 26

dence of Dawkins' incoherence, he quotes that writer to the effect that humans are capable of "pure, disinterested altruism," a quality "that has never existed before in the whole history of the world," and that "we, alone on earth, can rebel against the tyranny of the selfish replicators." (pp. 40-41) Whether this view is correct or not, it is enough, by Bookchin's own standards, to acquit Dawkins of Bookchin's charge of anti-humanism. On the page after the quote, Bookchin comments that "antihumanist protocol insists that there is no objective basis for elevating humanity over the most elevated of apes in the primate world." (p. 42) Yet his own citations show that Dawkins, whom he is indicting for alleged anti-humanism, proposes precisely such a basis. This is not an isolated case of such incredibly sloppy argumentation. Only a few pages later, Bookchin attacks James Lovelock's "cosmic anti-humanism" for its "strong theistic features," after which he quotes Lovelock's statement that "for the present, my belief in God rests at the stage of a positive agnosticism." (p. 56)

It is instructive to examine one of Bookchin's rare ventures into the field of American popular culture. He attempts to assess the state of the contemporary American psyche based on a reading of *The Simpsons*. And what does he find noteworthy about this popular cartoon series? Certainly not the fact that this more than vaguely anti-authoritarian series mocks politicians, religious leaders, parental authorities, and the local police, that its most loathsome character is (of all things) a capitalist, that its favorite public menace is a nuclear power plant, and that its most heroic figure is a preadolescent, clear-thinking, compassionate, environmentalist, vegetarian feminist! Of course not! According to the sophisticated canons of Bookchinite cultural critique *The Simpsons* is nothing more than an expression of the infantile quality of American culture. "Like the new popularity of *The Simpsons*, a television cartoon series for adult audiences, the new infantilism seems to appeal to a still surviving sucking instinct in the psyche that is beyond the constraints of age and experience." (p. 114) One of the "constraints of age and experience" in Bookchin's case seems to be the complete obliteration of any sense of humor, irony or satire.

Bookchin's rantings about the noxious effects of post-structuralism on contemporary culture are reminiscent of Alan Bloom's ridiculous claim in *The Closing*

According to Bookchinite cultural critique, the tv show *The Simpsons* reflects "the new infantilism [that] seems to appeal to a still surviving sucking instinct in the psyche that is beyond the constraints of age and experience."

of the American Mind that a major factor in the decline of American culture is "German philosophy." One major difference between Bloom and Bookchin (other than the latter's inclusion of dangerous French thinkers) is that Bookchin actually undertakes an explanation of the mechanism by which such an unlikely process takes place. He assures us that "Nietzsche, Heidegger, Foucault, and Derrida speak to millions of people today through the impresarios of widely viewed television documentaries, such as Bill Moyers, David Suzuki, and Desmond Morris." (p. 232) One must be particularly curious about Desmond Morris's concept of the influence of onto-thero-phallo-centrism on the naked ape and how that glib commentator surreptitiously conveyed it to viewers of his TV series.

Bookchin's obliviousness to the discourse in contemporary political thought becomes quite evident in his musings on the concept of justice at the end of the book. Arguing rather pointlessly for the superiority of his conception of freedom over other theorists' conception of justice, he contends that "[u]nlike justice, which works with the pretensions that all are equal in theory, despite their many differences in fact, freedom makes no pretense that all are equal but tries to compensate for the inequalities that occur with age, physical infirmity, and different abilities." (p. 260) Interestingly, after attacking the idea of equality, he describes his own goal as an "equality of unequals." Bookchin becomes so lost in verbiage that he is unaware of the fact that both he and the theorists he attacks share the same general position: that people are equal in some respects (in deserving respect, consideration, attention to their needs, etc.) and unequal in others (in having different personal qualities, positions in existing society, etc.). But what is most ludicrous about Bookchin's self-congratulatory discussion is that he seems completely oblivious to the debate in political theory over "justice" for the past twenty years. While he seems to think his concept of "compensation for inequalities" to be a bold new advance over "theories of justice," the most famous theory of justice in the history of modern political thought (that of Rawls) embraces precisely such a principle.

Assaults the English language

An area in which one must certainly recognize Bookchin's revolutionary creativity is in his use of language. This self-

professed anarchist boldly defies the oppressive laws of grammar and linguistic usage. For example, one can be confident that whenever Bookchin refers to anything as being "literally" any particular way, it is most assuredly that way in a metaphorical sense only. For example, he reports that "the counterculture's mysticism literally exploded in California," (p. 92) which might cause one to wonder why he is still concerned about it. On the other hand, he seems to be literally referring to himself when he comments that "[o]ne may literally get lost in this ecomystical shuffle." (p. 87)

He is also a creative genius with figures of speech. He informs us, for instance, that "[c]oercive measures here or harsh demographic policies there do not usually come in bits and pieces, like candy bars from a slot machine." (p. 64) Bookchin's British editors probably thought that this meant something intelligible in ordinary American English. They should be informed that American slot machines do not ordinarily pay off in mangled candy bars. In referring to Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb*, Bookchin quips that it "found readers across political, social and cultural lines with the carelessness of an infant scrawling on a blank page." (p. 65) We can all agree that the book should certainly be more careful when it's out looking for readers.

Bookchin has long been a master of the mixed metaphor, and occasionally even manages a double mixed metaphor. In seeking to delineate deep ecologists Deval and Sessions' relationship to the previously-mentioned mystical detonation, he remarks that "their academic cloister did not render them immune to the mystical viruses that were exploding." A moderately inept stylist might wonder at the fact that their academic cloister didn't protect them from mystical viruses, or perhaps that their academic bomb shelter didn't protect them from exploding missiles of mysticism, but only in *l'imagineaire Bookchinesque* can one envision an academic cloister besieged by exploding mystical viruses.

As Bookchin's world has increasingly contracted into the sphere of his own polemics, his language has become progressively more Pickwickian. For example, he finds it important to point out that "[t]he majority of animals, moreover, merely dwell in their environment." (p. 17) Why, one might ask, would he consider it important to think of the majority of animals—all those little zooplankton, beetles, etc.—as "dwelling"? The secret is that he is annoyed that some deep ecologists and Heideggerians like to talk about *human beings* "dwelling." He's convinced that there's something "unsavory" about this concept, but he's not very clear about what it is. The convenient solution is to make "dwelling" something that mere animals do—so that the deep ecologists are once again trying to reduce us all to a sub-human state! The fact that hardly anyone who learned English as a first language would talk about animals "dwelling," much less think that it's what they habitually spend their time doing, makes no difference in the tin-eared world of Bookchinism.

Bookchin has always had a very ambiguous relationship with Webster's *Dictionary of the English Language*. He quotes it with the alacrity of an energetic undergraduate when he thinks that it will buttress his argument, while he obviously rewrites it when actual usage is an obstacle. For example, he boldly asserts that

"hierarchy is in fact a social term—hierarchies are found nowhere in first nature." (p. 49) But in fact, the word "hierarchy" is used to refer not only to non-human organisms, but even to non-living entities that are arranged, as we say, in "hierarchical" order. While Bookchin intensely dislikes what he calls "mysticism," he often falls prey to what has aptly been described as *word-mysticism*, in which a term magically means just one thing.

In this case, that thing is whatever Swami Bookchin needs for it to mean for his polemical purposes.

Bookchin found not guilty of anthropocentrism—

Because he's guilty of egocentrism, and everything can't be in the center.

One of the most "repellent" (to use one of his favorite words) aspects of Bookchin's diatribes is his tendency to exaggerate absurdly his own importance in developing certain concepts, and to ignore or even denigrate others who made important contributions in the same area. His claims of originality go to bizarre lengths. He has seriously maintained that he was the first person ever to come up with the rather obvious observation that "the American Dream has turned into a nightmare"—though he forgot to say it in print—and it would not be surprising if he eventually claims credit for "it's not the heat, it's the humidity."

In the present work, Bookchin attacks Arne Naess's ideas "on local autonomy, decentralization, and 'soft technologies'" as being "old hat" when Naess wrote about them in 1972. Bookchin points out that *he himself* mentioned some of these ideas as early as 1962. Why Naess should be criticized for supporting such ideas in 1972 is far from clear, since he made no claims of having invented them. Bookchin, on the other hand, claims for his own private property ideas that have a long history extending from ancient times to the work of some of his own recent libertarian predecessors such as Ralph Borsodi and Lewis Mumford. It is ironic that Bookchin refers to what he calls Arne Naess's "acolytes" no less than four times in the space of about a page, even though Naess has shown no interest in seeking followers, creating a rigid dogma, or founding a school. Bookchin, on the other hand, has always acted in a dogmatic and sectarian manner, treated his ideas as if they were copy-righted private property, and demanded of his followers the deferential attitude befitting an acolyte.

Other efforts at self-promotion are more amusing than annoying. He has always fantasized being at the center of a Great Revolution (of the authentic, First World type, rather than the second-rate, Third World variety, which interests him little). The best opportunity he's had was the 1968 events in Paris, and for many years he's told of hopping on a plane to make the revolutionary scene before Thermidor hit. If we read carefully, we now discover that his first-hand experience of May '68 came, unfortunately, in the month of July. He reveals that he made a "lengthy" visit to Paris "in mid-July [sic] 1968, when street-fighting occurred throughout the capital on the evening before Bastille Day." (p. 202) Bookchin is obviously trying to convey the impression that he was in the midst of things during the historic "events" of 1968. But as one history summarizes the events after the June 23 elections: "France closes down for the summer holidays while some students organize a 'long march' and 'summer universities' open to

all." [Writing on the Wall: May 1968: A Documentary Anthology, ed. Vladimir Fiser (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), p. 40.] Apparently open to Bookchin, *soixant-huitard manqué*, who got a short course in insurrection during his "long visit" of mid-July. Most Parisians on the other hand, including the students, had already made their "long march" *à la plage*. When I was in Paris shortly after Bookchin, I found "the capital" to be unusually quiet and scrubbed by the counter-revolutionaries to a positively un-Gallic degree of cleanliness. The only writing I saw on the usually graffiti-laden Parisian walls was the ubiquitous *Défense d'Afficher*. Perhaps the non-Francophone Bookchin thought that this was a revolutionary slogan. A Parisian friend who was there when Bookchin passed through tells me that our traveling revolutionary phi-

losopher must have taken some raucous 14 Juillet parties for street fights.

Am I guilty of residual Bookchinism?

Probably so. Some may suspect that in the spirit of the Master of Malice himself I have unjustly emphasized the negative aspects of his book, and neglected its strengths. I willingly concede that I would probably need a long stay in the Mystical Zone to be drained of all the spleen I no doubt absorbed by osmosis during the time of my misguided youth spent on the fringes of the Bookchin cult. Yet, I don't think that I have been unfair in my assessment of this abysmally awful book. Although I have focused on a few of its more glaring flaws, they typify the spitefulness and mediocrity of thought that pervade the entire work. It simply has no signifi-

cant strengths, other than the fact that it illustrates so well certain qualities of Bookchin's character and thinking.

As Hegel quips in the preface to *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, "the true is the Bacchanalian revel in which all the participants are drunk; yet because each participant collapses as soon as he drops out, the revel is just as much transparent and simple repose."

If the dialectic is indeed an orgy of drunken revelry, the old brawler Bookchin shows himself in this work to be a bit punch-drunk. He's obviously on the ropes, and should know when to drop out. Yet, in his own muscle-bound mind, he remains the heavyweight champion of the philosophical world, defending his crown against all takers. No repose for this slugger. Still in the ring, still fighting.

Dead Meat

Continued from page 19

west, yet are ignorant of animal suffering. Or, if they know, still prefer to ignore it as they bite into fish, cow, or lamb meat.

Alexander Cockburn, who has contributed the illuminating essay to this book, "A short meat-oriented history of the world from Eden to the Mattole," is one of these people. He writes about his meat eating habits, devouring animals raised by his Humboldt County, Calif. neighbors as if that is better than what is produced from factory farming. Those who buy so-called "organic" meat might feel this is a more "humane" manner to participate in the consumption of flesh, but it makes no difference to the animal who still is treated as an object without a will of her own, and who is still slaughtered.

One of Coe's most powerful paintings, which she also sent to Cockburn, shows a parade of animals under the harsh glare of a street light. Pigs, goats, sheep, cows, and chickens are crowded together, moving past a butcher shop displaying dangling carcasses, following a man who has a McDonald's bag in his hands. Surprised, he turns and looks at the animals. The title of the painting is "Modern man followed by the ghosts of his meat."

Dead Meat gives those ghosts faces, legs, hearts, souls, and dignity, and for those of us who still eat, wear or use animal products, this is a strong call for personal responsibility and action.

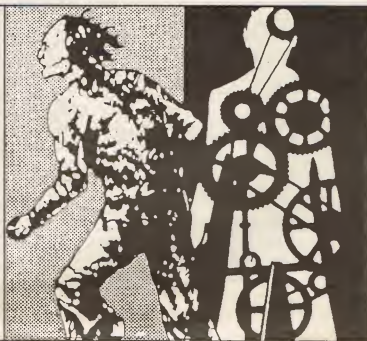
Paul Watson held for "Crimes" on High Seas

Paul Watson, founder of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, was arrested in the Netherlands April 3 by Dutch police acting on a Norwegian warrant.

The president of Sea Shepherd is being held in Lelystad Penitentiary awaiting an extradition hearing. Norway wants Watson to serve a prison sentence handed down in absentia for the 1992 scuttling of an illegal whaling vessel. They also want to charge him with ramming a Norwegian coast guard vessel in July 1994.

However, court documents contradict the warrant and show Watson was not in Norway's Lofoten Islands at the time of the sinking of the boat and another person proudly admits to the deed. 13 indepen-

Over
31
years
of radical
publishing!
Subscribe
To The
Fifth
Estate



Mail to: The Fifth Estate Newspaper
4632 Second Ave.
Detroit MI 48201 USA

One Year Domestic Subscription: \$8
Foreign including Canada and Mexico: \$10
Libraries & Institutions: \$12; Prisoners: Free
Corporations & Government Agencies: \$50

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State/Prov. _____ Zip/Code _____

Begin my subscription with the next ____ issue/current ____ issue.
An additional \$2 pays for half of a prisoner's subscription.
Prisoner and GI subscriptions are free.

dent journalists recorded the collision in the July 1994 incident and video footage shows the Norwegian coast guard cutter purposely ramming *Whales Forever*, the Sea Shepherd vessel, firing on it twice and detonating four depth charges under the conservation vessel's hull.

This is an election year in Norway and Watson is a hot item for the floundering prime minister, a political appointee without a popular mandate. Holland doesn't know that Watson has received death threats from what is believed to be elements within the powerful Norwegian whaling and fishing industry.

Sea Shepherd takes credit over the years for the sinking of several whalers and destruction of millions of dollars of equipment on boats fishing illegally.

Watson's defenders held a Hollywood press conference, kicking off an international effort urging his release and demanding the Netherlands' reject Norway's request for extradition. Numerous film

makers, and movie and television stars voiced their support for him, noting his importance to the environmental movement over the last two decades.

Designating him a political prisoner, they voiced concern over Watson's safety. "We know Paul will be killed if he is extradited to Norway," said Lisa Distefano, Watson's wife and international director of Sea Shepherd.

Numerous Hollywood celebrities and environmental groups have already contacted the Dutch government asking them to deny extradition. Sea Shepherd is asking everyone to write the Dutch Minister of Justice, W. Sorgdrager, PO Box 20301, 2500 EH, The Hague, The Netherlands to support Watson.

Sea Shepherd can be reached at P.O. Box 628, Venice CA 90294; phone 310-301-7325; they have slides and video available of the ramming incident.

In Canada, P.O. Box 48446, Vancouver BC V7X 1A2; 604/688-7325.

Letters to the Fifth Estate

WASP Supremacy

To the FE:

Beni's review of Ellen Chesler's biography of Margaret Sanger (see FE Fall 1996) omits mention of Sanger's treacherous "marriage of convenience" to the eugenics movement to legalize contraception by riding the tails of flagrantly racist, anti-immigrant and anti-working class nationalists.

The very same "good ole boys" brought us the Palmer Raids, the deaths of Sacco and Vanzetti and the revival of the KKK in a wave of violent repression aimed at preventing ideas of the bolshevik revolution from becoming a material force in the U.S. Sanger did not merely recant her anarchism and remain "a radical and socialist" as Beni concluded, but became the international spokeswoman for population control in the name of WASP racial supremacy.

"More children from the fit, less from the unfit—that is the chief issue of birth control," wrote Sanger in 1919. From there, Sanger continued the downhill slide according to Linda Gordon in *Woman's Body, Woman's Right*. By the 1930s, she was recommending sterilization or gender segregation of "the whole dysgenic population" in the interest of "our way of life."

Sanger and her heirs are infamous for adding "population control" to the U.S. arsenal for use in promoting "stability," i.e., maintaining oppressive regimes in the Third World.

These are peculiar omissions for a review in the Fifth Estate, a publication I have long admired for its excellent critique of the chauvinism underlying Dave Forman's misanthropic brand of Deep Ecology—a genealogical descendant of the above movements.

Susan Simensky Bietila
Milwaukee, Wis.

A Bit Long

To the FE:

I purchased and read *Beyond Bookchin* by David Watson. There were some very good points made, but a general critique I have is that it was a bit long—especially the quotes from other writers.

A comrade and I have been co-facilitating an anarchist history class through the Free Skool at the Infoshop, and I've found that even among the folks who are genuinely interested in reading and learning

about this stuff, it's difficult to get them to read more than 30 pages a week.

I was at Powell's Books in Portland last night and they had a little "New Title" sign under Bookchin's tract, *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism*, with a recommendation written on it. I took out my trusty pencil and enhanced the sign with a rebuttal and a suggestion to look three shelves below to Watson's book. I'll go back tomorrow to make sure it's still there, and if not, I guess I'll photocopy some choice words and insert them in Bookchin's book.

I was a little disappointed with your Unabomber article (see "The Unabomber & the Future of Industrial Society," FE Fall 1996). Seems to me that the main thing we can all do (while we wait to see how Ted would like his supporters to help) is to expose past FBI (mis)conduct and the way the State and the prosecution are spoonfeeding the media. The feds have had their image tarnished since the Ruby Ridge and Waco disasters, plus their recent spy scandal, so they'll try to do this one perfectly.

We have to make sure they don't succeed effortlessly. Recent revelations in the Geronimo Pratt case help our side a lot.

Stay Warm,
Lawrence
Oakland, Calif.

Be Anarchizing

FE Comrades:

Yes, an original Fall 1996 FE; a social novel, a book of anarchy, collection of letters, scrap paper notes, a narrative of ecotopia.

I anger over the old question:

All species of the fascist money-recognition power of the present economic, educational, political, medical are saprophytic theofascist and have been joined to the WO/MAN of homo sapiens rooting to All-Life.

It is. It is that we need anarchy coming, coming to Act; coming to Act, within the necessities of all the living.

Be anarchizing in yr ways and all yr days,
Daniel de Cullá
Burgos, Spain

FE note: *This World We Must Leave and Other Essays* by Jacques Camatte, is available from FE Books, \$9 plus postage (see our book page for ordering information).

Unabomber 1

Dear Fifth Estate:

As you will notice, our address has changed yet again. If the address has the word "Box" in it, the Post Office delays delivery, because they have a monopoly on boxes! But if you use the word "Suite" instead, they are happy. The government is making it difficult to use anonymous means of communication.

The excuse is terrorism, despite the fact that most of the bombs that go off in the USA have government fingerprints all over them. The anti-terrorism campaign is obviously manufactured by the state, and has the aim of increasing control of

people's lives, by getting them to accept "security" as a necessary part of life. I'm not sure that your own responses to this campaign have recognized this. As you will notice in the article, "The New Bad Guys," in the enclosed *Wildcat*, we criticize your response to the Oklahoma bombing on the grounds that you assume Tim McVeigh is guilty. If he was black, you wouldn't have done this.

Fall 1996 of your esteemed organ features a major piece about the Unabomber which doesn't go so far as stating that Ted Kaczynski is guilty. Though he is white and male, he doesn't have a short haircut like McVeigh. However, you fall somewhat short of offering Kaczynski the solidarity he requires, whether innocent or guilty. In many places in this article, you make a point of equating the Unabomber's acts with those of the capitalist system.

It's difficult to get a precise grip on your long and rather unfocused article, but I think its conclusions can be summarized thusly:

- The Unabomber's attacks were unjustifiable, because his victims were innocent.

- It is equally unjustifiable to turn in your brother to the FBI.

- The Unabomber's critique of industrial civilization has nothing in common with ours.

- It is irresponsible to mention the *Fifth Estate* as a possible inspiration for the Unabomber because the police might get angry with us.

- No matter how wicked the Unabomber may be, Colin Powell is much worse.

- People who sympathize with the Unabomber are mistaken.

- The Unabomber's actions were part of the problem, typical of the smoldering disaffected men who are just as likely to kill their ex-wives as their boss.

- Terrorist acts can never be revolutionary because they are nasty.

- Terrorism is undemocratic, and only a majority can halt Leviathan.

- Communities working together to transform society, not bombs, is the answer.

Random quotes from Taoists and hippies fail to disguise the proximity of these views to those of the liberal left. Leftists counterpose mass action to individual terrorism, as if they are incompatible. They also contrast majorities to minorities, while adding that, of course, minorities can make a difference. They equate the terrorism of the state with its enemies, as you do throughout this article.

They "defend" those charged with terrorism by pointing out that the top brass of the army have killed more people. This amounts to putting them on the same level. In short, I think your fire has been so suffocated by feminism, pacifism and other liberal attitudes over the years that you have been unable to notice just how much a part of the establishment these attitudes now are.

Having said all this, it is true that sending letterbombs is not a revolutionary tactic. The chance of a postman or receptionist getting blown up is high, and has happened many times. But solidarity, first with Ted Kaczynski because he is either innocent or a coherent enemy of civilization, and secondly, with the Unabomber, whether or not he and Ted are one and the same, is an essential precondition for criticism. Your response fell short.

Keep up the good work—in fact, improve it!

Richard Tate
Wildcat
1224 Broadway, Suite 108
Burlingame Calif. 94010

Grow Wild!

Hi:

I liked the Unabomber article which raised interesting points. I had to laugh when I read the footnote about John Zerzan's critique of agriculture. I haven't

Fifth Estate Letters Policy

The Fifth Estate always welcomes letters commenting on our articles, stating opinions, or giving reports of events in local areas. We don't guarantee we will print everything we receive, but all letters are read by our staff and considered.

Typed letters or ones on disk are appreciated, but not required. Length should not exceed two, double-spaced pages. If you are interested in writing a longer response, please contact us.



read much of his stuff, but this is an idea I have long wrestled with and read about.

Fredy Perlman talks about it in *Against His-story, Against Leviathan* saying the first hierarchical, authoritarian, patriarchal societies arose at the same time as agriculture. Agriculture requires people to be tied down to the land, to work long and hard, and to manipulate nature in hundreds of ways.

This past summer I rediscovered this fascinating farmer/writer/crusader, Masonubu Fukuoka, who practices semi-wild agriculture with no cultivation, weeding, fertilizer, or pest control. It may be that insects often prefer plants we consider "weeds" to our "crops" when they are allowed to grow together.

These are ideas I am exploring in reading and in practice on a little patch of dirt behind my house. Fukuoka makes all the connections between petro-chemical farming and corporations and the amount of labor both traditional Japanese and modern farmers must use to grow their crops. A good read is the out-of-print, *The Natural Way of Farming*, but libraries stock it.

Grow Wild!
Nicole
Ottawa, Ontario

Saving Up Fifth Estate:

Enclosed is my renewal to your subversive journal. I would have sent more, but I'm saving for an overnighter in the Lincoln bedroom.

Savagely,
Charles Bateman
Sacramento, Calif.

Against Oppression Dear Fifth Estate:

I'm a prisoner in Illinois who has received Fifth Estate in the past, but was transferred to another prison; and would like to continue receiving your paper.

I've been very busy fighting against the administration in every possible way—mostly fighting the blatant disregard for their own rules, while insisting that we obey them. I've been busy, there's no question of that.

Grievances, working from within the library to help educate the brothers in here; there's just so much to do. Most of my work has been to write for zines, and put out my own zine, to raise the level of awareness of people outside prison. I don't press my political beliefs on anyone, but try to show how hypocritical the government really is, and how we as a people need to stand against oppression in every form.

Racism has not been a factor on my unit. I've been very happy with the level of understanding and tolerance of the differences between the different cultures. Muslim and Christian, black & white, we're all working pretty well together, and I have to thank the brothers who've been so helpful in guiding each other toward a better understanding of the true enemy. Fighting among ourselves never gains anything.

Recently, the Illinois Dept. of Corrections began taking away property and privileges of people in segregation. No longer can prisoners have personal clothing, food, cigarettes, or write letters while in seg. TVs and radios are taken, and only one book or magazine is allowed. There was a protest planned because of this, but the planning fell apart before it could even



graphic: Tuli Kupferberg

begin. I'm told that there was a problem with the different gangs agreeing on things.

Ron Campbell #N-30537
P.O. Box 900
Ina, Ill. 62846

Looking in Peoria

Dear FE:

I am looking for help finding anarchists in Peoria. Thus far, I have seen a few people with mohawks, but I'm not sure if their anarchy extends further than listening to the Subhumans and going to shows.

The only group working for social change that I've found remotely acceptable is the Socialist Worker's Party, but I'm getting sick of their preaching about the wonders of Castro's Cuba. Plus, their bookstore has only authoritarian socialist books.

I am in town for college, and leave during the summer, so I don't have the local base to start and maintain a local organization(s). Would any anarchist individuals or groups please contact me at: 1307 W. Bradley Ave., Rm. 42, Peoria IL 61606

Brian Gondek
Peoria, Ill

Neoist Chum

Dear 5th Estate:

While Fabian Tompsett accuses *Green Anarchist* of "offering a right-wing version of anarchism" (see Fall 1996 FE) he attacks anarcho-primitivism as a whole.

Tompsett and his Neoist chum, Stewart

Don't Lose the Fifth Estate

If you move but don't notify us directly, you will miss the next issue. Second class mail is not forwarded, even if you notify the Post Office. Please write us before moving and include your old address and zip.

"Truth is the enemy" Home, are "having some problems with *Green Anarchist*," as he says, because of neoist tracts like *Green & Brown Anarchist* where they have us applauding Nazism, and *Green Apocalypse* where they absurdly argue anarchists and Nazis are the same—"Bakuninists." In his pamphlet *Militias*, Tompsett accuses groups as diverse as Class War and the Anarchist-Communist Federation and veteran anti-fascists like Stuart Christie and Larry O'Hara of being "fascistic" or "cheek [sic] by jowl with apostles of the far-Right." This typifies Neoist "debate and reflection."

They're throwing these smears because they are intimate with fascists. Home first smeared GA in October 1994 within a week of us exposing fascist

Richard Lawson and ex-GA editor Richard Hunt's involvement in the neo-nationalist Trans-Europa Collective. He obviously did this for Tony Wakeford, also of Trans-Europa, who Home slavishly describes as "a genius." As lead singer of black-shirted Death in June, Wakeford sung such odes to the SS as "We Drive East" and Home even uses fascist slogans in print (e.g., "Long Live Death" in his book, *What is Situationism?* (AK Press, 1996). Tompsett only admitted his involvement in *La Guerre Sociale*, apologists for Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson, when challenged about this last year (see his *Sucked*, p. 2).

Tompsett's 'critique' of FC [the Unabomber] is as insincere and absurd as his of GA; read in context, they're just saying what Perlman did, that "the natural reaction to dehumanization is resistance." The reference to "welfare leaches" surely shows FC have no particular sympathy for any of the diverse subcultures cited. Tompsett only attacks FC in an attempt to win sympathy from an American audience generally cowed by the FBI and to obstruct the growth of anarcho-primitivism in the UK.

It's easier for a largely conservative, workerist milieu in UK to dismiss *Industrial Society & Its Future* as "right-wing" than to answer questions it raises about the division of labour that their ideology is just not equal to. GA doesn't uncritically support FC—our introduction to *Industrial Society & Its Future* challenges its "reductionism and machismo" and our most recent issue printed formerly Feral Faun's excellent *Fixed Ideas and Mail Bombs*—but we do think they've more to offer revolution-wise than Tompsett's three-sided football matches and his pseudo-occultist *London Psycho-geographical Association Newsletter* (cheap laughs for post-modern yuppies).

For fuller documentation of this dispute, send \$3 for *Stewart Home and his Fascist Friends* from BM Box 4769, London WC1N 3XX. For firm proof the

Unabomber suspect's been framed by the Feds, write to the Ted Kaczynski Defence Campaign c/o *Green Anarchist*, BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX U.K.

Yours, for the destruction of Civilization,
Oxford Gas

FE responds: We printed this letter because the authors, who had a letter in the Spring 1996 issue, demanded a chance to respond to a letter from Fabian Tompsett attacking them in our last issue. Its tone and relative incomprehensibility may give our readers a sense of a feud going on in England between *Green Anarchist* and the Neoist Alliance. While space limitations kept it out of this issue, we will be commenting on this feud and questions it raises in the upcoming issue. For now, let us say that the literature we have received from both sides makes us relieved there's a big ocean between us and Albion.

Unabomber 2

Dear F. E. Folks:

Thank you all for a fine Fall 1996 issue, especially "The Unabomber And The Future Of Industrial Society" by T. Fulano, which is the best anti-authoritarian analysis of the subject we've read. We reprinted it in pamphlet form to distribute to folks who are not regular *Fifth Estate* readers. We also hope to get together a group to discuss the issues focused on in the article, along with those in David Watson's *Beyond Bookchin*, as part of our on-going exploration of criticisms of technology.

We are particularly anxious to have this discussion because some anarchists have been enthusiastic supporters of the Unabomber. In Spring 1996, we attended an anarchist conference in Olympia, Washington (the Olympia Collective Circus), where a text was distributed in which the author criticized the Unabomber's simplistic theoretical writing. (FE note: this text, by "Formerly Feral Faun," has since been reprinted in *Green Anarchist* number 44-45 as "Fixed Ideas and Letter Bombs.")

After the criticism of the Unabomber's "fixed ideas," the author goes on to say he does not have major objections to the Unabomber's tactic of using bombs to attack the willing masters and servants of modern technological tyranny because they are the enemies of life, and the author asserts, he is pleased whenever the masters and servants of the technological order are killed by such bombs. This author argues that killing such individuals is not incongruent with anti-authoritarian principles, because it does not actually deprive the people killed of their freedom in a significant way, since it only takes their lives.

He asserts that people who kill only momentarily interfere with the murdered person's freedom, while the masters and servants of the modern technological order deprive people of freedom for the duration of their lives: "The killer lays no claim to the life of the victim until they kill them, and even then they lay no claim to the life but only to the ending of that life. Domination consists of forcing people to give away their life energy while they are living . . ." We find this to be a sickening and depressing perspective, as well as being a danger to the ongoing creation of human beings attuned to the development of real social relations with other living creatures. Despite the admirable goal of stopping the megamachine's progress, this kind of "anarchist" justifi-

cation of the acts of self-designated executioners is not substantially different from the heinous reasoning and atrocities of the rulers

If we want to go beyond this modern murderous social order, we have to cultivate a respectful attitude toward all life, which recognizes the validity of killing only for actual survival reasons, as in direct self-defense, immediate defense of others, or to avoid individual or group sickness, malnutrition or outright starvation. And even in such situations, we need to remember that taking the life of another creature is not something to be done lightly or unthinkingly, or to impose our wills on others. Moreover, relishing killing anyone, even the most abominable individual or group, strongly endangers our own goals of creating a libertarian communitarian society.

Although we have all felt the desire to have our dominators vanish from the scene, to savor the pleasure of any of their murders would be to allow ourselves to accept their brutal perspective that all living creatures, and the Earth itself should only be allowed to exist at the pleasure of those with the tools of death, and then only under conditions dictated by the "strongest." It would also mean ratifying those worst human traditions and moral values which sanction destruction of other creatures' lives as an acceptable pleasure, rather than those which recognize such acts as difficult necessities to be resorted to as infrequently as possible, and with sincere thought and great regret.

In this respect, there is something we can learn from the first human inhabitants of this continent. Although most pre-Columbian native North American tribes were far from pacifist, most did not have a conqueror mentality. They were therefore able to concentrate on creating and recreating communitarian, and often non-authoritarian social relationships among themselves, for which they generally recognized the importance of cultivating all tribal members capacities for respect for others, compassion, cooperation and sharing, over skill and efficiency in ending the lives of adversaries.

Because native peoples lacked an emphasis on taking life as the main goal, the "civilized" European invaders—who measured their own superiority over other animals and people in terms of their capacity to enslave and kill—concluded that the native peoples weren't really serious soldiers, and only played at war. As the inheritors of the social world the conquerors built, we should understand the devastating results (both past and present) of their lack of respect, consideration and compassion for all but the most efficient killers.

It is one major reason why the dream of venting the deeply-rooted pervasive rage which modern society inspires in generally unfocused acts of mayhem against crowds of innocent strangers has been turned into reality all too often. It is a part of our anti-social character heritage which, if not consciously negated, can block our movement toward a more social world.

The Unabomber's proposal that revolutionaries do everything possible to bring about the collapse of the modern technological world, so as to avoid technology's far more destructive triumph, without worrying about the process of collectively building alternatives, is not only similar to the callous, elitist, manipulative modern ruling class approach. It has certainly also been one perspective advocated and implemented by some authoritarian "revolu-



Plan to hide wilderness from Forest Service and developers.
—photo: Richard Gallup

tionaries" and romanticized by many anarchists in the past and present.

But even the most desirable social values can not be imposed by force or coercion. Imposing social changes on people can, perhaps, superficially alter societal structures. However, in the process it inevitably cripples both people's ability to think and feel in nonhierarchical social ways, and thus undermines rather than assists the possibilities for establishing genuine egalitarian forms of sociability. Traditional civilized and capitalist power structures foster our isolation and alienation. They work against our developing any authentic sense of compassion for our fellow creatures—human or nonhuman. Our resistance must involve striving to construct the social bonds necessary to promote social solidarity, cooperation, and responsibility for the fate of others.

While we cannot simply harbor naive beliefs that our attempts to create egalitarian social practice alone can change social structure and unseat hegemonic ideology, challenging those hierarchies requires the building of egalitarian and cooperative habits of thought, and experiments in collective practice, as part of direct involvement in specific struggles against domination, repression and destruction of the basis of life. It is important for us to attempt to create social relations that can foster a more egalitarian and liberatory society, one that establishes individual habits of thoughts and customary structures that help to integrate our desires for both individuality and community.

We strongly agree with T. Fulano that we cannot "find our way through the examples of either lone assassins or terrorist cells." Our only real hope lies in intentionally cooperative, and concretely egalitarian communities of people working both within and against this society to transform it. While we cannot look to any definitive victories of anti-authoritarian rebels to help guide us in our struggles, we can gain some hope and inspiration from a variety of past and present social movements and cooperative endeavors around the world—from the egalitarian Mexican revolutionaries of the beginning of the century and today, to the I.W.W., to the popular militias and collectives of the 1936-1939 Spanish Revolution, to the U.S. civil rights movement of the 1940s through 1960s, to the worldwide insurgency of students and workers of 1968, to the numerous movements for social justice in the 1970s through the 1990s in so many places. As people have retained or recre-

ated a certain sense of social cohesion and solidarity, it has enabled them to rebel through constructive anti-authoritarian participation—which, we are convinced is the only possible way out of the self-destructing civilization constructed and energized by the megamachine.

We all need to explore these kinds of connections between political ideologies and modern technology, and individuality and sociability in greater depth, because in a real sense, our lives do depend on it.

Yours for a new world,
Sylvie
P.O. Box 17138
Seattle, Wash. 98107

Fulano replies: Thanks for your praise and for your comments. The sophomoric reasoning of the "Letter Bombs" article reveals how intellectually impoverished and ethically derelict much of so-called anarcho-primitivism has turned out to be, a subject to be taken up in our next issue. Sylvie's letter was edited for space considerations.

The Holy Grail

Dear Fifth Estate:

David Watson's *Beyond Bookchin* is excellent, a wonderful follow-up to the 1989 *Return of the Son of Deep Ecology* special issue of the FE.

My only negative comment concerns his statement that "chaos theory may suggest more satisfying ideas about the structure of the cosmos . . ." A long passage from N.J. Girardot's *Myth and Meaning in Early Taoism* follows. Although Watson qualifies his statement with "may suggest," I find this type of argument highly problematic.

As you well know, in our culture scientists enjoy a level of credibility unmatched by any high priest(ess) of other ages; their official role is that of seekers of truth and wisdom. Mathematicians and physicists (in this order) are at the top of the scientist-heap; they consider themselves to be intellectually superior beings who alone have the right to make profound statements, even in areas removed from their disciplines. This isn't the case, of course; when a mathematician writes a book about the philosophy of mathematics, for example, the results are usually dismal.

Still, over the years there has been a steady stream of popular science books in which various authors have unveiled the latest Holy Grail: in the 1970s it was

catastrophe theory; in the 1980s we had (and still have) chaos theory; Quantum so-and-so seems to be ever present. However, books such as James Gleick's *Chaos* are nothing but attempts to impress the scientifically illiterate with new buzzwords—straightforward sophistry. Chaos itself is a subfield of dynamic systems, a subject concerned mainly with studying the iterations of mappings. However, this doesn't stop the flood of writings by authors name-dropping "chaos this," "chaos-that," and impressing large numbers of people in the process.

Watson's use of this metaphor (if this metaphor is indeed reasonable) is limited. However, I have seen works by some anarchists in which the supposed findings of chaos theory are used as a justification of anarchist ideas. Perhaps it is enough for these authors to consider the consequences of such a view—for example, suppose that some mathematician develops a more general theory involving a set of theorems and conjectures which explain most of the phenomena in another framework—the "mysteries" of chaos will vanish, its supposed insights revealed as illusions caused by incomplete theories. It would then follow that we could all forget about anarchist ideas, as their basis has been proven fallacious.

Of course, ancient taoist texts and the study of mathematical functions are disparate areas of knowledge. How exactly does "chaos" show us something about the world? If the claim is that some physical process being modeled, well maybe; but here we are back to doing physics. Is there some "evolutionary dynamic system" or a "cultural dynamic system," perhaps? The thinnest metaphors are being stretched here. You can look at the graphs of various functions in mathematics and see just about anything.

These flimsy metaphors get attention, even among people who claim to ask fundamental questions about our culture, because of the *cultural* rule of science, as I mentioned and which Watson discusses in *Beyond Bookchin*. Watson should be careful when using this chaos stuff to refute Bookchin's positivism.

If I'm going a little overboard with this, forgive me; but the genuflection to science in this society is nothing less than mystification born of ignorance. And it keeps getting worse; witness biopsychiatry and its claims to have found a physiological basis for "affective disorders," whatever these are.

As I see it, there are two questions to consider first, suppose that some theory came to prominence in science that cast doubt on the ability of science to describe and predict some important phenomena. Is this a good thing? Second, is "chaos" such a theory? My answer to the first question is an unenthusiastic "yes." As Watson suggests, there are many points of view; if one can get a wiser perspective on science from this new theory, that's an improvement. Surely, there are lots of examples of scientists arriving at Deist-style mystic insights from their work; there are also many who do not. One must remember the source of these insights. These people are not being led to a sense of *humility* about themselves, their culture, and the future by the horrible destruction of the natural world, for example. As far as I can see, denial and apologies—and grants to study "global change," "climate modeling," etc.—are the rule. (How can anyone use a phrase like "global change" with equanimity?)

If the best some people can do is be

dazzled by the pictures on their computer screens, fine. I don't see any new "paradigms" emerging from all of this—truth still comes from your computer, or from scientists. Even Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle, a tenuous metaphor widely used to question scientific certainty, becomes privileged because when science talks in our culture, everyone listens.

As for question two, "chaos" is the study of nonlinear dynamics. With the availability of computing in recent years, it has become possible to do "experimental mathematics," testing the behavior of some equations for many iterations. This has attracted much interest, and mountains of hype. "Chaos" has not produced any universal laws or profound insights. Also, most of the spectacular pictures, the source of much popular interest, are derived from equations which are not known to model any physical process. A world-renowned professor I had once described all of mathematics as "a bunch of tautologies." Science's limits are important to understand, but I think "chaos theory" aids us very little in that regard.

Finally what do we mean by the word "science"? Native people in pre-European California managed to live in rather harsh areas with a relatively high population density through meticulous knowledge of their world. This is science in my view. Another example is the accumulated knowledge of medicinal plants of aboriginal peoples—drug companies certainly respect this, as they derive billions in profits annually from stealing it. This, too, is science, but in a different cultural context.

An especially important issue *Beyond Bookchin* raises is respect for the natural world as an explicit ethical concern. After all, one can live in an anarchist world of wall-to-wall parking lots; the natural world doesn't get included automatically, as Bookchin implies.

By the way, I'm glad the FE didn't go under, although three issues a year would be nice. I have my disagreements with the FE, but I have yet to find anything as good, and I read quite widely. It's heartening to know that what I consider to be the best political journal around, which features many potent philosophical, social, cultural and ecological ideas, is produced by a collective of "ordinary people," not some academic all-star team—a bit of anarchy in action, if you will.

T. S.
Chicago, Ill.

Watson replies: T.S.'s point is well taken. He is correct in noting that I qualify my statement about chaos theory as simply a possible alternative to Bookchin's mechanistic dialectic. Perhaps my comment should have been even *more* qualified.

What interests me about chaos theory is not its computer representations of phenomena, but its indirect recognition of both an organic holism and of the limits of our ability to understand completely and, therefore, control nature. I can imagine a kind of chaos theory accessible to the Greek pre-socratics and Chinese taoists having no need of computer fractals, but rather arising from an intuitive apprehension of life based on close observation of life itself.

This is why the quote from Girardot appealed to me: it vindicated the ancient taoists rather than using taoism to vindicate science experiments. Nevertheless, science being one form of knowledge

among several, we will inevitably find aspects of scientific knowledge meaningful. For example, when biological science along with some of the insights of chaos and complexity theory remind us of the marvelous interdependence of ecological life webs, and consequently of the daunting problem of human intervention, we naturally will appropriate that knowledge for our own purposes—hopefully remaining cautious of the kind of problem T.S. rightfully raises.

Stand Up for Ted

To The Fifth Estate:

Bombing is *not* a family value. "We need neither condemn nor condone the Unabomber." This is T. Fulano's thesis (See "The Unabomber and the Future of Technological Society").

Her argument goes like this: Ignore this man, Ted. FC. The Unabomber. He's trivial. It's not that he's not right. It's that it's really not a politically significant situation. In fact, it's not political at all. He's psychopathic, perverse, pathetic. And totally ineffective.

Yes, everyone knows who he is and what he stands for—there's even a ground swell of popular support but that's *precisely* how he played into the hands of the media. He's right (in his own crazy way). He's right about absolutely everything. We're doomed. But disregard him. He has a rage problem.

Granted, we're being decimated. There may be grounds for desperate actions given urgency of the situation . . . Later. But rage is inappropriate. Rage is the main problem. It's totally ineffective. It's not nice at all. He came right out and said "You can't eat your cake and have it too."

That wasn't called for. He's unmarried, a "monad," a loner, and he endangers us. Talk about him and the FBI will be out to get us, all because of him (although he hasn't threatened the industrial order). The cops are worried that he'll be a role model, and crack down on us legitimate activists. John Zerzan endangers us too—not that he's ever advocated violence, but he talks about Ted and put us at risk—that's cowardly. What a big public relations disaster!

Anarchy has nothing in common with violence, never has. In fact, violence never accomplished anything. It's obsolete. All violence is the same. But it's OK to feel sorry for him. To say we don't want him to actually fry. It will show that we are guided by love. The species is faced with extinction, but not today. The industrial system is on the brink of horrific cataclysm. We're cooked; it's over. We're already past the crossroads.

We totally depend on the technological system we despise—to pull the plug now is suicide. But while we're waiting for the ship to crash on the rocks of reality, we can be nurturing, trusting, empathetic. Practice everyday acts of random mutual aid and senseless beauty. Expect a miracle! Life goes on, even if not ours, some kind of life—probably! And that's somehow reassuring.

Extinction is just God's way of telling society to slow down. And if you just have faith, someday your man will come backing out of the labyrinth following his lover's thread to sunlight. Redemption happens. But in the meantime, be very, very cautious. Disruption is the true danger. "We focus on this parcel of Armageddon [the Unabomber situation] only at our peril."

It's strange. I never thought the FBI,

Time-Warner and Fifth Estate would come to agree. Ignore this trivial, trivial madman. We're too few. It's risky. The real terrorist—the state—with its doomsday apparatus will extinguish us if we act defiant. Don't rock the boat.

Fulano's tortuous reasoning masks a semi-conscious resignation, fatalism and fear, relieved only by Hallmark-variety religious platitudes and delusions. This "liberationist" no longer believes in the possibility of freedom, or even survival. Disruption now is the perhaps the one trauma we might avoid. She is gravely disrupted within herself by the line drawn by the Unabomber's acts.

The divide is not between love and rage, violence or non-violence, but between disruption and order. *We need neither condemn nor condone violence.* When blacks rallied around murderer O.J. they struck a media-made gong and gave voice to their outrage at the police and justice system. It was not mistaken for endorsement of homicide. The very distorting qualities of media made this strategy possible.

Do we stand up for Ted Kaczynski in common cause or leave him dangling, the psychopath, his views mere paranoia? He's a universally-known symbol of defiance toward the technological-industrial system. He stands for action, action while it's still possible to act. Do we? There's a little Unabomber in everyone, not because of the bombings, but in spite of them. He spoke to the conditions of our daily lives, and said, "We don't think it's inevitable. We think it can be stopped." The game's not up yet. To sympathize is not to lack compassion.

I hear veterans like Chomsky, Zinn, Dellinger near hopelessness as they contemplate a resistance in fragments, thirty years in forced retreat, while a consciousness-raising, ever-tightening media net systematically deprives us of any unifying focal point for resistance.

There will not be another Vietnam. The state learned from that. Did we? This is a new situation—one they haven't had much practice with. This trial is a melodrama. It presents an unique opportunity to be grasped and used. Can we put the technological-industrial system on trial?

Does a miracle falling over in a desert make a sound? How about this for a miracle: Ted walks.

Dare to be perky!

Lydia Eccles

Unapack Unabomber '96 Presidential Write-In Campaign
POB 120494
Boston MA 02112

Fulano replies: To respond to this abstruse montage's various representations would necessitate repeating everything I've already said. Far from describing my argument, Lydia seriously distorts both the essay's general thesis and its particulars.

Like much post-modern discourse today, Lydia's letter strikes me as simultaneously cynical and naive. Obviously cynical in its portrayal of our reluctance to endorse the Unabomber's authoritarian "strategy" and ideas as cowardice, fatalism and religious platitudes, even as agreement with the FBI. Both cynical and naive its claim that the Unabomber draws a clear "line"—that not content or context are meaningful, but only a division "between disruption and order." Indirectly approving of "disruption," whatever its outcome, Lydia manages to cheer the

Unabomber on while taking responsibility neither for his theory nor his bombing. There may be nothing cowardly about that, I guess, but it is convenient.

Her confusion of media irony for reality (apparently even her own "Unabomber for President" campaign) is also muddled. Particularly telling is her description (in fact her use of the trial as an example at all) of the highly mediated reaction of blacks to the O.J. Simpson verdict. Though she apparently considers Simpson a murderer, she nevertheless believes this media depiction of cheering crowds somehow provided blacks a voice against police and the courts, and that this gesture "was not mistaken" (by whom?) as support for homicide.

Similarly, Lydia is terribly ingenuous if she considers the Unabomber a "universally-known" (and therefore implicitly unambiguous) symbol of defiance to industrialism, rather than a useful and disturbing image of inchoate refusal and impotence before it. And she's downright delusional if she thinks the Unabomber has received "a groundswell" of popular support.

FE comment: This paper has a long history of supporting political prisoners. Some of them committed acts of terror against the state, many others were framed. We don't start or join defense committees for all of them.

Free Ted!? Sure, innocent or guilty. Fulano's article called for his release, so what's Lydia's complaint? If her concern is the mediatization of issues, haven't we done our duty?

One of our principles is opposition to prisons, which is why we give free subscriptions to prisoners and support the Anarchist Black Cross (see ABC article in *The Rumble*), but given how small our project is (and how much needs to be done), probably little of our energy will be spent on those with whom we have substantial disagreements on ideas and tactics.

Unabomber suspects

Dear Fifth Estate:

My boyfriend was visited by the FBI about a year and a half ago because he somehow had been fingered as a Unabomber suspect. We figured it was because of his involvement in anti-Vietnam War activist groups in the early '70s, combined with his military training.

He also had been subpoenaed by the government to appear before a grand jury in the early '80s to give testimony about people he had supposedly worked with in anti-war activities. He refused to testify pleading several constitutional rights.

During that time he was the father of three young children and owner of a fledgling wheelchair repair business. He was and is too busy being a father and trying to make ends meet to plan terrorist acts. He also consciously chose a pacifist path when he decided to have children.

The Unabomber spectacle was a good excuse for the FBI to cruise around (all expenses paid by us) terrorizing and checking up on radicals trying to raise a family while serving their ideals.

He found the bomber article amusing.

Thanks for keeping it together,
Penney O'Reilly
Santa Cruz CA





News & Reviews

Friends who attended the second annual Anarchist Book Fair held March 29 in San Francisco say it was a tremendous success. It was sponsored by Bound Together Book Store, 1369 Haight, SF CA 94117 and hundreds showed up for the all-day affair. Our gratitude to Lawrence for setting up a table this year and last to distribute Fifth Estates.

The mid-November/December 1996 issue of *The New Settler Interview*, a northern California publication, has an interesting interview with our friend Kelpie Wilson.

Kelpie, the Earth First! wild woman who probably coined the slogan, "Love Your Mother, Don't Become One," has for some time advocated a radical ecofeminist population reduction politics that transcends both the malthusianism of the old boys who started Earth First! and the knee-jerk response among some progressive types that there is no problem.

Kelpie talks about how she became an Earth First! activist, the Headwaters fight, the aftermath of the Bari-Cherney bombing and Redwood Summer, the role of women in the movement and the kinds of solidarity developed among them, as well as her personal evolution from a roaming earth warrior to a rooted member of a community in Oregon.

She speaks from the heart about being an anti-natalist woman who loves kids and plays a role in the raising of other people's children. She doesn't claim to have all the answers (and there are things in here we don't necessarily agree with), but Kelpie is someone who has thought about these questions far more than most.

The issue also has an inspiring interview with three young people who engaged in civil resistance tree-sitting at Headwaters, and who describe the violence of loggers and cops, the "otherworldly" intensity of living in the treetops for several days, and their motivations. Says one, "We're not just about saving the Headwaters, we're about challenging what's going on in just about every one of the houses surrounding us . . . It's a fundamental, bedrock challenge to the way most people are living their lives . . ." *New Settler Interview* is \$1 a copy; subs are \$15/12 issues from P.O. Box 702, Mendocino CA 95460.

I liked the name *L'Ouverture*, named for Toussaint L'Ouverture (1744-1803), leader of the Haitian slave revolution, whose fighters defeated the French and the British until they were overcome by Napoleonic intrigue and military might.

L'Ouverture: The Black Marketplace of Ideas is brash and savvy, a small magazine (8 1/2" by 5 1/2") that packs a punch. In the September/October 1996 issue edi-

Continued on page 29

Fifth Estate Books

New from Black & Red Chomsky on Vietnam & Spain

OBJECTIVITY &
LIBERAL SCHOLARSHIP
Introduction by Peter Werbe

Written while the Vietnam war was raging, this thin volume, taken from his 1969 *American Power and the New Mandarins*, exposed

his colleagues' cooperation with the imperial slaughter in Southeast Asia. He also shows that the same ideology distorts the work of scholars who analyze earlier conflicts. His critique of historians of the Spanish Revolution and Civil War includes a stirring account of the anarchist participation which is either ignored or falsified by liberals and stalinists alike. The best short history of the Spanish anarchists' triumphs and defeats.

Black & Red 142pp \$6

BOOKS & ARTICLES ON THE SOVIET UNION & STRUGGLES AGAINST STALINISM

POLAND: 1970-71
Capitalism and Class Struggle
by ICO (Henri Simon)

Simon documents and analyzes the Polish worker strikes. Their resistance to the communist state capitalist regime that set the stage for its overthrow ten years later. Normal communist mystifications failed to keep shipyard workers on the job and the revolt overflowed into the streets.

Black & Red 120pp \$3

POLAND: 1980-82
Class Struggle and the Crisis of Capital
by Henri Simon

Simon's analysis foresaw the political co-optation of the Polish workers' movement by the Walesa gang even when they paraded as militant opponents of the state. Former dissidents became defenders of Capital and the state. The attempt of Solidarity to keep up with a militant working class is a juggling act worth reading about.

Black & Red 144pp \$3

HISTORY OF THE MAKHNOVIST
MOVEMENT

By Peter Arshinov

History of the anarchist peasant revolution in the Ukraine with telling revelations about the nature of "revolutionary" Bolshevik military and social policy. Written by a participant in the movement.

Freedom Press 284pp \$11

THE STORY OF TATIANA

By Jacques Baynac

In 1906, in a Swiss luxury hotel, Tatiana Leontiev, a young aristocratic intellectual, assassinated a French businessman in the mistaken belief he was the Tsar's Interior Minister. While tracing Tatiana's life, the book evokes the repression, intrigue, and commitment leading up to the overthrow of Tsarism.

Black & Red 225pp \$6

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST
by Peter Kropotkin

Kropotkin's best known work and one of the great works of revolutionary literature. In it, he brings alive the ferment of ideas and movements in the Europe of the late 19th century. If one wishes to know what it was like to be a revolutionary when it meant he relentlessly hounded, banished to Siberia, imprisoned or

condemned to death, here is the book.
Dove Publication 557pp \$12

LETTERS OF INSURGENTS

by Fredy Perlman

(written under S. Nachalo & Y. Vocheh) Epic in scope and size, *Letters* examines the human qualities of love, loyalty and solidarity within the crucible of revolution in Soviet Bloc Eastern Europe.

Black & Red 832pp \$8

THE FALL OF CAPITALISM & THE
TRUMP OF CAPITAL

by David Watson

A radical ecological critique of the soviet megamachine and its collapse. This essay examines the wreckage of state socialism and the continuing dark age of state society, with its unending wars, increasing privation, and relentless destruction of nature.

Spring 1992 Fifth Estate \$3

THE ANARCHIST SPECTRE IN
EASTERN EUROPE, by David Porter

THEY JUST SAID NO by D.M. Borts Porter discusses the response of the stalinist politicians to the rising grassroots movements which eventually led to their downfall, while Borts comments on the subjective, radical aspects of the opposition, asking, "Could it be that Western political rulers are as vulnerable as the Eastern European old guard was?" Other articles in this issue: "Detroit: Demolished by Design," "The Collapse of the Armed Forces," exchange on environmentalism and revolution, more.

Winter 1990-91 Fifth Estate \$3

KRONSTADT 1921

compiled by Rob Blurton

Blurton comments on Boris Yeltsin's hypocritical establishment of a monument to the revolutionary mutineers, and gathers several contemporary accounts from Voline, Alexander Berkman, and Ida Mett. This excellent issue also contains articles on the zapatista revolt, interviews with Noam Chomsky, and a *Daily Barbarian* insert.

Summer 1994 Fifth Estate \$3

For a complete list of available issues of the FE, send an SASE, or request it with your book order.

Fifth Estate Books is located at 4632 Second Avenue, just south of W. Forest, in Detroit, in the same space as the Fifth Estate Newspaper. Hours vary, so please call before coming by.

HOW TO ORDER BY MAIL

1) List the title of the book, quantity, and the price of each; 2) add 10% for mailing costs—not less than \$1.24 U.S. or \$1.60 foreign (minimum for 4th class book rate postage); 3) total; 4) write check or money order to: **Fifth Estate**; 5) mail to: **Fifth Estate**, 4632 Second Ave., Detroit MI 48201 USA. Phone 313/831-6800 for hours and more information.

NEWS & REVIEWS

Continued from page 28

tor Bill Campbell discusses the upsurge in right-wing racist groups and militias in an original and funny piece, "Red Necks, White Asses, Blue Collars: The True American Patriots." Campbell argues that government repression against militias focuses attention on a handful of relatively powerless racists in order to allow the powerful racist establishment to move right along. "And, I think they've played their cards right . . . we have a 'liberal' President calling for 100,000 more police officers—since the ones already with nightsticks are only responsible for 8,000 cases of brutality . . ." He has no great love for white racists plebes, of course. "Sec, I'm no defender of militias. Hell, when they talk about 'the nigger making his move,' well, sir, I am that nigger. So motherfuck 'em. I'm just really concerned

BEYOND BOOKCHIN:

Preface for a Future Social Ecology
by David Watson

Besides providing a thorough critique of Murray Bookchin's narrow version of social ecology, this wide-ranging essay explores new paths of thinking about radical ecological politics. "... a brilliant, carefully argued critique [which] will do much to restore social ecology's promise as a broad, liberatory vision."—John Clark "Bookchin is the Elmer Fudd of North American anarchism, and Watson is the Bugs Bunny." —Hakim Bey *Black & Red/Autonomedia* 256pp. \$8.00

HAYMARKET SCRAPBOOK

edited by Dave Roediger
& Franklin Rosemont

A large format, profusely illustrated account on the most world-reverberating event in American labor history. It chronicles the Haymarket bombing, the trial and execution of the martyrs, role of women and immigrant communities in the defense, sketches of the major personalities, and the event's heritage. Wonderful photographs, posters and drawings. Charles H. Kerr 255pp (8X11) \$19

THIS WORLD WE MUST LEAVE
AND OTHER ESSAYS

by Jacques Camatte

A collection of Camatte's essays available in English. Two decades ago, Camatte straightforwardly called leftist political organizations and labor unions "rackets." He depicts a voracious Capital endowed with anthropomorphic needs requiring the domestication of humans. *Autonomedia* 256pp \$8

SITUATIONIST INTERNATIONAL
ANTHOLOGY

translated & edited by Ken Knabb

A compendium of writings by the influential Situationist International group. Included are texts preceding the group's formation, soundtracks from Guy Debord's avant-garde films, flyers dating from May 1968 and internal I.S. exchanges. The authors combine wit and insight in their fiery denunciations of bureaucrats, unions, politicians and leftists. *Bureau of Public Secrets* 406pp. \$15.

ECO-DEFENSE:

A FIELD GUIDE TO
MONKEYWRENCING

edited by Dave Foreman & Bill Haywood
This new, revised and enlarged third edition contains everything the wilderness defender needs to know about how to disable, dismantle, and destroy the machinery, buildings, etc. of those who are raping the earth for profit. Sabotage techniques are richly detailed with diagrams, first hand accounts and "field notes." *Ned Ludd Books* 311pp. \$20

LIVE WILD OR DIE #6

#6 is just as wild as the first five, with rants, raves and rebellion against civilization and its destruction of the wilderness. *Self-published* 48pp \$3

about the role they're playing as the scapegoat. More Cops: America's Good Guys, more and more federal cutbacks, so many "race cards" are being played by our "leadership" you'd think it was Vegas, the ever-growing Grand Canyon between rich and poor, the elimination of anything that looks like non-corporate welfare, more and more military spending, though we have no real enemies, while they have us "terrified" over militias . . . One rarely reads this refreshing point of view in small literary magazines. This issue also includes poetry by dr. juba, Colette Wilkerson and others, artwork, a short story by Isaac Webb, and a serial story. A bimonthly, *L'Ouverture* can be obtained for \$15/12 issues (or

RADICAL HISTORY:
Thousands of demonstrators hit the streets of Miami to protest the re-nomination of the war criminal Nixon at the 1972 Republican national convention. They took on numerous targets representing the "Amerikkkan death culture," including this (literal) sabotage of the sex industry. Note the appropriate shoes.
—photo: Orin Langelle



sample issue/\$2). From P.O. Box 8565, Atlanta GA 30306.

Colombia Bulletin is a useful quarterly offering more news and analysis on Colombia than is available almost anywhere else. The Winter 1996 issue contains updates from different news services; reports on environmental and social consequences of oil exploitation; human rights abuses by Colombian agents using U.S. antinarcotics aid; the situation of indigenous Colombians; urgent action requests; and more. Major feature articles include a piece on the U.S. Army School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Georgia, which has turned out generations of mass murderers and torturers, and its effect on the Colombian military; also a piece on repression against Colombia's peasants under the guise of fighting drug traffickers. *Colombia Bulletin* is four issues/\$25 (\$12.50 student/low-income) from CNS, P.O. Box 1505, Madison WI 53701.

The Bhopal Peoples Health and Documentation Clinic in Bhopal, India, publishes *Sambhavana from Bhopal* to spread information about the December, 1984 Union Carbide gas leak (which killed some 3,000 people), and its aftermath. In 1985 the FE published a well-known anti-industrial manifesto that has been widely republished, "We All Live in Bhopal," but we cannot assume people, particularly young people, remember it or even know of it.

Yet in Bhopal some 400,000 people continue to suffer the effects of that heinous corporate crime. The incidence of

spontaneous abortions and untreatable systemic illnesses among the victims of the disaster is substantially higher and their death rate is double that of people not exposed to the gas.

Sambhavana means "possibility" in Hindi, and written as *Sam Bhavna* means "similar feelings." The clinic provides health care and education to local people and disseminates information on the disaster as well as other aspects of the toxics plague. They call on those who can to volunteer skills, ideas and money. Send contributions to Medical Appeal for Bhopal, The Pesticides Trust/Bhopal Account, Eurolink Business Center, 49 Effra Road, London SW2 1BZ, U.K.

poets and many more people who look toward a new radical resurgence not just in a distant millennium but in the here and now." They intend to create a library, a free school, a public space for community presentations and meetings, and mutual aid projects to help people find jobs, housing, food, etc., and to organize skill-matching/barter.

Local Austin area folks can call Josh or Chris at 482-9402 or Sam at 453-6960.

The following text is a leaflet from the Israeli peace group Gush Shalom (POB 3322, Tel. Aviv 61033 Israel), and appeared in the September-October 1966 issue of the valuable newsletter, *The Other Israel (TOI)*. The courageous and clear-minded activists, Jewish and Arab, of TOI knew exactly what was coming:

"Netanyahu, unlike Abraham Lincoln, believes that you can fool all the people all the time. He proposes to start a new round of negotiations on Hebron, casting aside the agreement which was achieved after long and arduous negotiations . . .

"He allows . . . new settlement enclaves in the Territories . . . [H]umiliating searches at the checkpoints have been extended even to elected members of the Palestinian Legislative Council. And at the same time, Netanyahu accuses the Palestinians of breaking the agreements.

" . . . The intifada in 1987 seemed to break out suddenly. In fact, it was like a dam behind which the water was rising steadily. Now, it is happening again. An enormous load of anger and frustration is accumulating day after day. Nobody could predict exactly when the next intifada will break out, and what form it will take: major terrorist attacks, killing of settlers, more uprising, or war between the Palestinian armed forces and the Israeli army . . . Whatever it will be, Benyamin Netanyahu will not be able to claim innocence."

Now as things unravel once more, Netanyahu does in fact claim innocence, even blames the Palestinian Authority for not fighting "terrorism" zealously enough, all the while beginning new settlements, reneging on Palestinian autonomy measures, and even building in Jerusalem—clear violations of its own accord with the PLO. But the explosion predicted by TOI is unfolding with no end in sight to the deepening spiral of violence.

Though they are not anarchists, the TOI folks are well worth supporting for their commitment to multi-national peace work and resistance to Israeli imperial expansion.

Recent issues include many reprints of flyers and newspaper ads from the Israeli peace movement, detailed analysis and news of events there, reports on demonstrations, Mordechai Vanunu, and more. The December issue is titled, "The Imminence of War," and contains a report on the fortieth anniversary of the massacre of unarmed Jordanian peasants by Israeli troops during the 1956 War, and excerpts from a letter by a Palestinian "administrative detainee" in an Israeli jail. *The Other Israel* especially needs to be disseminated in the U.S., which gives Israel billions of dollars a year in aid and military equipment.

Subs are \$30 a year (students / prisoners / unemployed \$15) from TOI, P.O.B. 2542 Holon 58125 Israel. They can also be contacted and subs bought in the U.S. from the America-Israel Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, Mary Appelman, 405 Davis Court Apt. 2106, San Francisco CA 94111.

—T. Fulano

Austin, Texas now has a radical center/info-shop, The Conspiracy of Equals, at 505 San Jacinto, Austin TX 78701. They are "non-dogmatic radicals, anarchists, activists, culture-jammers, musicians, writers,

Looking At Animals

Continued from page 19

ians. Raab is right. Coe captures the horror of meat eating so dramatically that after seeing her graphic depictions one can only continue to eat meat by way of a process of tremendous denial.

Since the 1980s, however, my abstinence from dead land creatures has been reinforced increasingly by a realization that the mass production of animals is a catastrophe for the environment. A "simple" bacon cheeseburger contains the wreckage of range lands in the West, pig shit-choked rivers in the south, and millions of unnecessary petrochemical drenched acres of crop land to provide feed for livestock.

Unfortunately, the seas are faring as poorly with factory fishing. Whole so-called fish stocks, salmon in all the entire North Pacific rim nations, cod and haddock in the Atlantic to name only a few, are disappearing from oceans and rivers at such a rate that we may be seeing the last of these wild creatures. (Industrialized tuna fishing has been called "the last buffalo hunt.") Modern fishing methods are so indiscriminate that often as much as 60 percent of a catch is "waste," unwanted species which are discarded overboard. Habitat of non-targeted creatures is disrupted by fishing, threatening them as well.

Sea creatures produced in offshore fish farms are no less harmful for wildlife or the nearby environment. In the entrepreneurs' mad attempt to maximize profit by controlling everything from weight to color of their "product," they introduce dyes and antibiotics, which when combined with massive concentrations of fish waste in coastal areas, gravely threaten native species and water flora.

The destruction/production is also bad for people. The nightmare slaughterhouses Coe describes have worsened in recent years—more unsanitary, more dangerous—as white, mid-Western, union workers have been displaced by Laotian, Latino, and even Somali immigrants only days off the boat from Africa. Wages have plummeted accordingly as the formerly privileged sector of the working class is kicked out along with their unions which, at least, defended minimal living standards and comparatively humane working conditions (for humans, that is). Now, it's not unusual to see Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents, used to working the barrios of southern California, suddenly making a mass raid on an Iowa Beef Processors plant in Storm Lake, Iowa searching for undocumented laborers.

We Are Omnivorous Animals

Any one of these issues—personal health, the environment, or labor ought to be enough to signal the end of meat eating by radicals or other people of conscience. Yet, for the most part, it doesn't. Maybe the reason is that we are omnivorous animals and meat eating has been deeply and perhaps (who knows) irrevocably rooted in human societies since the Paleolithic.

But any attitude or custom can change, and animal rights theorists are asking (or demanding) that the respect and privileges conferred on humans be extended to other creatures. We are the only animals that act out of ethical considerations,

hence, it is a uniquely human function to assign rights by virtue of popular perception—that is, how a human group (women, native people, minorities, etc.) or nonhuman entities (animals, trees, rivers, mountains, etc.) are considered by most people in a given area at a given time. Rights are a slippery proposition; they are granted either by custom or document and can be withdrawn as easily as they are assigned. You can be fully empowered with rights one minute and the next you're off to a reservation or death camp.

Anchoring rights as emanating from a god or as being "inalienable" only plays well if you can back it up. In a sense, all talk of rights is facile; what we want is what is enforceable in the real world. How we deal with animals is equally arbitrary. This culture says it's alright to kill and eat pigs (which are smarter than dogs), but kill Fido and you face jail time.

Some people argue it is ethically unacceptable to kill our fellow creatures since the avoidance of pain and the experiencing of pleasure is the measure of an act. However, most people are aware of but willfully ignore the "hogsqueal of the universe" (Upton Sinclair's vivid phrase describing the abattoir in his early 20th century book, *The Jungle*). They prefer their

pleasure over the animal's pain.

To those who believe animals are fully invested with rights equal to humans, their killing is by definition "murder," a word Raab effortlessly employs in his first paragraph. But murder must have a perpetrator as well as a victim; does this mean people, including our friends and families, who unreflectingly eat meat or wear leather shoes have committed acts comparable to taking a human life? What about native people whose hunt is permeated with ritual and appreciation of the life given to the hunter? Dead is dead, Raab argues, regardless of whether a steer is killed by a bolt gun to the head in a slaughter house or an antelope by an arrow in the forest by a hunter who sees the fallen creature as his relative.

Addressing the crucial question that humans should not eat the flesh of other animals, one argument suggests that although many animals besides humans are predators, we are the only species which can choose abstinence. Is it here that the ethical imperative lies?

Animals are directed toward the kill by their genetic constitution, but why is the carnivorous predilection, so common in people, less "natural" than when practiced by instinctive impulse? If you oppose a human eating a bird, say a pigeon, should you be equally appalled when one is killed by a Peregrine falcon? I've seen one of these magnificent birds swoop down on its flying prey at 80 miles per hour from atop a huge building, sending out an airborne spray of white feathers and blood before taking the catch back to its perch to be ripped apart by her and her brood. To say dead is dead allows for no distinction between rednecks at a pigeon shoot in Hegins, Pennsylvania, an endangered bird, or Amazonian Hoarani hunters. If life is undifferentiatedly sacred, does it matter if the act of taking an animal's is genetically driven or willful?

According to the absolutist argument, incantations mean little to the victim. But where does this leave the Inuits and Masai,

tribes in which animal protein is crucial for their survival, and in the case, of the former, absolutely without alternative? Are they murderers, as well? Can there be a mutuality between animals and people, without rights, so under the proper relationship, such as expressed by native people, a life is taken within an ethical context?

Ultimately, it is the absolutism contained in the sentiment about murder which worries me. How close does such an extreme formulation come to that of right-wingers who similarly charge abortion is murder? No one in the U.S. animal rights movement has yet gone to the lengths of the fanatics who bomb clinics or kill their personnel, but is the philosophical ground-work there?

Maybe there is a declarative statement that can be offered based on something other than our "feelings." That is, you say animals shouldn't be for human use; someone else says, t's OK. Who's right? Is it possible to establish absolutes when there is no external or heavenly affirmation of either point of view?

A good starting point for a perspective that has the capacity for validation beyond our emotions is environmental philosopher Aldo Leopold's sense of holism. This

Farm animals aren't deserving of the protection we should afford wild life... they exist as human artifacts.

is best articulated as a "land ethic" in his classic 1949 book of essays, *Sand County Almanac*. It says if we love our planet and its inhabitants, we must come to conclusions about what constitutes its biotic integrity.

A simple and seemingly adequate description of this state of affairs would be the condition which existed before the heavy hand of man (gender specific noun intentional) took a commanding role in the biosphere and began an instrumental redefinition of our relationship to flora, fauna and things. Leopold states, "A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise."

Destined For Burgers Or Coats

But be advised: this formulation can leave domesticated animals destined for either burgers or coats without the ethical protection animal rights advocates demand. Domesticated animals, particularly in their modern form of production, are unacceptable when considered in terms of Leopold's precepts, but he had no objection to either hunting or meat eating when it was done within the context of sustainability.

The modern meat industry and its support requirements such as mass agriculture do monumental harm to biotic integrity. The reason to abstain from flesh in this culture seems much more firmly founded in protection of the earth than in animal suffering. All eating causes death, and some suffering. That's the "life economy" described by ecologists, recognized by primal animism and archaic traditions such as Buddhism.

Hence, farm animals aren't deserving of the protection we should afford wild life since, not only is their existence usually inimical to their feral brethren, but also that they can only exist as human artifacts, literally animal machines functioning solely as adjuncts to their masters.

Unfortunately, there is nowhere to turn

on the question of domesticated animals. The call by some animal rights activists to "free" the inhabitants of the pig pen, hen house, and stockyard would assure their deaths no less than their current destination. (In the few areas where domesticates are capable of surviving, such as feral pigs on Hawaii or wild cats in Australia, their presence constitutes another assault on fragile ecosystems.)

Also, the land ethic would not, in many cases, afford absolute protection even to animals in the wild. For example, much is made of so-called hunt sabs, the organized interference with hunters by scaring away prey or bravely (or foolishly) standing in the line of fire. To be sure, disgusting spectacles like fox hunts by the English rich or the Heggies pigeon shoot we reported on last issue makes me root for the disrupters, but can this protection be transformed into an absolute?

Deer Should Be Eliminated

An island off the coast of Maine I've visited is overrun by deer, descendants of ones introduced 50 years ago to provide sustenance for the fishermen during the hard Atlantic winters. Now, with the same food available on the island as anywhere else, the deer are ignored and have multiplied to the point where they may be responsible for extirpating as many as a hundred native plant species and threaten the rare Fringed Gentian growing there in proliferation. What would the land ethic dictate? Simply that the deer should be eliminated given the harm they are causing to the biotic community. Cruel, but fair, as the line from Monty Python goes.

We are asked by people advocating full rights for animals to choose not to kill or accept the results of killing. But how far should this extend? Some people evoke the criterion of sentience, the ability to think and cognitively, rather than reflexively, react to pain. This would eliminate flies and mosquitoes from protection, yet some East Indian religionists wear gauze masks to keep from inhaling unwary insects. Should we not kill at all? How about tomato worms or slugs eating our gardens?

I'm glad I'm asking these questions rather than attempting to answer them. It's a conundrum that in many ways can only be resolved with absolutist arguments. But even an absolute doesn't seem to resolve the issue. For instance, when I see a demonstration of 40 people outside of a furrier in a wealthy Detroit suburb, but only one of these same faces (an FE associate) at a protest to stop chemical dumping in the St. Clair River adjacent to a native people's island, it's hard for me to take their concern for minks seriously. Involvement in the latter would protect the environment, animals and people (us!). The other seems so narrowly focused as to be hardly worth the effort.

Though there are committed anarchists involved in both animal rights and radical environmental work, the above example seems to be more the rule than the exception. Everyone will do the political work their conscience directs them to, but it doesn't seem unreasonable to suggest at least some prioritization for a small, radical environmental and anarchist movement already marginalized by an utopian vision. In a culture where meat eating and animal usage is almost universally affirmed, trying to dictate diet on the basis of absolutist ethics seems like a hopeless undertaking, but, hey, I suppose one could argue no more so than advocating an anarchist revolution.—E.B. Maple

By Jason Wehling

The black flag is a symbol of anarchism. Unfortunately, the exact origin of this association is very elusive. This may be frustrating to those fascinated by historical trivia, but it is by no means surprising.

Anarchism has always deliberately stood for a broad, and at times, vague political platform. The reasoning is sound; blueprints create rigid dogma and stifle the creative spirit of revolt. Along the same lines and resulting in the same problems, anarchists have rejected the "disciplined" leadership found in many political groupings. The reasoning for this is also sound; leadership based on authority is inherently hierarchical. It seems to follow logically that since anarchists have shied away from anything static, they would also shy away from the importance of symbols and icons.

While this may explain why the origin of anarchist symbols is elusive and inconclusive, the fact is, anarchists have frequently used symbolism in their revolt against the state and capital. Not only the black flag, but also the circle-A are spray-painted on walls and bridges all over the world; punks display them on their jackets and scrawl them on half-dried cement. Black flags have recently been resurrected in Russia and continue to fly in most parts of the world.

There are ample historical accounts of the use of black flags by anarchists. Probably the most famous, was Nestor Makhno's partisans during the Russia Revolution. Under the black banner, his army routed a dozen armies and kept a large portion of the Ukraine free from concentrated power during 1918-1921 until suppressed by the Bolsheviks. During the 1936-39 Spanish Revolution, the anarchist CNT fought under black and black and red banners.

The Black Flag in Anarchist History

But the anarchists' black flag originated much earlier than this. The first account is actually unknown, but the credit may be reserved for Louise Michel, famous participant in the Paris Commune of 1871. According to anarchist historian George Woodcock, Michel flew the black flag on March 9, 1883, during a demonstration of the unemployed in Paris. 500 strong, with Michel at the lead and shouting "Bread, work, or lead!", they pillaged three baker's shops before being arrested by the police. No earlier reports can be found of anarchists and the black flag.

Not long after, the black symbol made its way to America. Historian Paul Avrich writes that on November 27, 1884, the flag was displayed in Chicago at an anarchist demonstration. According to Avrich, August Spies, one of the famous Haymarket martyrs, "noted that this was the first occasion on which [the black flag] had been unfurled on American soil."

On a more dreary note, February 13, 1921 was the date marking the end of black flags in Soviet Russia. On that day, Peter Kropotkin's funeral took place in Moscow. Masses of people, whose march stretched for miles, carried black banners that read, "Where there is authority, there is no freedom." Black flags didn't appear in Russia until the founding of the Chernoe Zhania ("Black Banner") movement in 1905. Only two weeks after Kropotkin's funeral march, the Kronstadt rebellion broke out and was crushed by the Bolshevik counterrevolution (see Summer 1994 FE #344). Anarchism was erased from

Soviet Russia for good.

As early as 1880s, a large number of anarchist groups adopted titles associated with black. In July 1881, the Black International met in London. This was an attempt to reorganize the anarchist wing of recently dissolved First International. Similarly, there was the Black Band in France (1882) and the Mano Negra (Black Hand) in Andalusia, Spain (1883). These dates are immediately followed by Michel's demonstration (1883) and the black flags in Chicago (1884).

Further solidifying this period as the birth of the symbol is the name of a short-lived French anarchist publication, *Le Drapeau Noir* (The Black Flag). According to historian Roderick Kedward, this paper existed for a few years beginning sometime before October 1882, when a

saw the introduction of "propaganda of the deed" as an anarchist platform. Historically, black has been associated with blood—dried blood specifically—like the red flag. So, while it is tied to working class rebellion, it was also a symbol of the nihilism of the period.

Pirates and Anarchy

There is also an interesting connection between the black flag and pirates. Louise Michel, while leading the women's battalion during the Paris Commune of 1871, may have flown the skull and crossbones according to one report. But the association may go further.

Pirates were seen as rebels, as free spirits, as well as ruthless killers. While the internal association of pirate enterprises varied a great deal, many had elected

History of the Black Flag



graphic: el Libertario
c/o N. Méndez
Fac. Ingeniería, UVC,
Caracas, Venezuela

Why
anarchists
fly it.

What
are its
origins?

bomb was thrown into a cafe in Lyons. Backing up this theory, Avrich states in *The Haymarket Tragedy* that in 1884, the black flag "was the new anarchist emblem." In agreement, Murray Bookchin reports in his history of Spanish anarchism that "in later years, the anarchists were to adopt the black flag" referring to the period around 1870. Up until that time, anarchists, like the communists, widely used the red flag. It appears this is the period when the black flag was bonded with anarchism.

Why the Color Black?

Figuring out when the connection was made is easier than finding out exactly why black was chosen. The Chicago *Alarm*, published by a Haymarket martyr, called the black flag "the fearful symbol of hunger, misery, and death." Bookchin asserts that the black flag is the "symbol of the workers misery and as an expression of their anger and bitterness."

Along these lines, the late British anarchist Albert Meltzer (see Winter 1996 FE) maintains the association between the black flag and working class revolt "originated in Rheims [France] in 1831 ("Work or Death") in an unemployed demonstration. But he says it was Michel's action in 1883 that established the association. However, there are other possibilities.

Black is a very powerful color, or anti-color. The 1880s were a time of extreme anarchist activity. The Black International

ship captains. In some cases, captains were female, which was highly unusual for the time. He or she was "subject to instant recall," and life on board a pirate ship was certainly more democratic than life on board ships of the British, American or French navies—let alone a merchant ship.

For pirates, the black flag was a symbol of death, the give-away being a skull and bones on black. It was a sign equivalent with "surrender or die!" It was intended to scare their victims into submitting without a fight.

Other irregulars also adopted the black flag as a warning to "surrender or die!" Quantrell's Raiders, led by a confederate officer, fought under the black flag during the American Civil War. He was known for showing no mercy to his opponents and expecting none in return. Also, Mexican General Santa Anna flew black flags during his successful siege of the Alamo. Accompanying the black banner, his buglers played, *El Dequello*, a call meaning "no quarter will be given," in other words, no prisoners would be taken.

While Quantrell and Santa Anna have no connection to anarchism, pirates, on the other hand, are a more complicated situation. They were considered rebels without a state, owing allegiance to no code of law except whatever makeshift rules they improvised for themselves. Certainly pirates were not consciously anarchist, and often acted no better than their statist or commercial adversaries,

but the popular perception of them at the time is what is important. Their symbol was the embodiment of rebellion and the spirit of lawlessness and were hated and hunted by the ruling class.

This may have been enough for the starving and unemployed to pick up the black flag in revolt. Anyone could quickly get a piece of red or black cloth during a riot or rebellion. Painting a complicated symbol on it took time, so an improvised rebel flag raised in a riot was likely to be of just one color. Hence it follows that the black flag flew without the skull and bones because it was necessarily makeshift.

To this question of the black flag, Howard Ehrlich, in his book *Reinventing Anarchy* has a passage worth quoting at length:

"Why is our flag black? Black is a shade of negation. The black flag is the negation of all flags. It is a negation of nationhood which puts the human race against itself and denies the unity of all humankind. Black is a mood of anger and outrage at all the hideous crimes against humanity perpetrated in the name of allegiance to one state or another. It is anger and outrage at the insult to human intelligence implied in the pretenses, hypocrisies, and cheap chicaneries of governments.

"Black is also a color of mourning; the black flag which cancels out the nation also mourns its victims, the countless millions murdered in wars, external and internal, to the greater glory and stability of some bloody state. It mourns for those whose labor is robbed (taxed) to pay for the slaughter and oppression of other human beings. It mourns not only the death of the body but the crippling of the spirit under authoritarian and hierarchic systems; it mourns the millions of brain cells blacked out with never a chance to light up the world. It is a color of inconsolable grief.

"But black is also beautiful. It is a color of determination, of resolve, of strength, a color by which all others are clarified and defined. Black is the mysterious surrounding of germination, of fertility, the breeding ground of new life which always evolves, renews, refreshes, and reproduces itself in darkness. The seed hidden in the earth, the strange journey of the sperm, the secret growth of the embryo in the womb all these the blackness surrounds and protects."

The Circle-A

Even harder to track down is the origin of the circle-A as an anarchist symbol. Many think it started in the 1970s punk movement, but it goes back to a much earlier period. A BBC documentary on the Spanish Civil War shows an anarchist militia member with a circle-A clearly inscribed on the back of his helmet. Other than this, there is little known about the origins of the circle-A.

Works Cited:

- Paul Avrich, *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*, Cornell Univ. Press, 1973.
- The Haymarket Tragedy*, Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years 1888-1936*, Harper Colophon Books, 1977.
- Roderick Kedward, *The Anarchists: The Men Who Shocked an Era*, American Heritage Press, 1971.
- Albert Meltzer, *The Anarcho-Quiz Book*, Black Flag 1976.
- George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, Penguin Books, 1963.

COOK *for* PEACE

Food Not Bombs is one of the fastest growing revolutionary movements in North America today and is gaining momentum all over the world. There are over 120 autonomous chapters sharing vegetarian food with hungry people and protesting war and poverty throughout the Americas, Europe and Australia. The first group was formed in Cambridge, Mass. in 1980 by anti-nuclear activists. Food Not Bombs is an all volunteer organization dedicated to nonviolence. Food Not Bombs has no formal leaders and strives to include everyone in its decision making process. Each group recovers food that would otherwise be discarded and makes fresh hot vegetarian meals that are served in city parks to anyone without restriction. The groups also serve free vegetarian meals at protests and other events. San Francisco chapter members have been arrested over 1,000 times in the city's effort to silence protests against the Mayor's anti-homeless policies. The Arcata, Calif. group faces civil contempt charges for sharing food and the Whittier, Calif. group has been issued tickets for feeding people. Seattle and Burlington, Vt. Food Not Bombs are being threatened by the cops. Amnesty International says it may adopt imprisoned Food Not Bombs volunteers as "Prisoners of Conscience."

Food Not Bombs works in coalition with groups such as Earth First!, American Indian Movement, Anarchist Black Cross, Homes Not Jails, the Free Radio Movement and other organizations creating a vision for positive social change and resistance to the new global austerity program. One collective publishes a movement-wide newsletter, "A Food Not Bombs Menu," and each month San Francisco Liberation Radio produces the Food Not Bombs Radio Network program that includes 30 minutes of unreported news and information from the protest community. We hope you will join us in taking direct action towards creating a world free from domination, coercion and violence.



FOOD NOT BOMBS

3145 Geary Blvd. #12 • San Francisco, CA 94118 USA

1-800-884-1136 • 415-386-9209

[HTTP://NETCOM.COM/~peace](http://netcom.com/~peace)

Perle of the Bourgeoisie

Dear reader, after reading the previous analysis of class struggle in Albania, we would like you now to "savour" some selected extracts from *Internationalism* No. 98 (May-June 1997), paper of the social-democrat ICC. Remember what this group wrote about Iraq at the very moment that proletarians' insurrection broke out there? *"The working class is a minority in Iraq... and possesses almost no historical experience of combat against capital."*

Once again, we want to denounce the euroracism of ICC. Blinded by their racist vision that, just as any bourgeois paper, divides the planet into developed and under-developed countries, incapable of differentiating the proletarian struggle of our class brothers from an inter-bourgeois fight, they are unable to understand that Capital is worldwide since at least the 15th century and that in its generalisation, capital eliminated, eradicated all other strata to confront only two classes: proletariat against bourgeoisie everywhere on the planet; giving birth, in the same process, to its gravediggers.

The perle we reproduce below is another example of the same counter-revolutionary content of ICC.

"Albania ... isn't a country like Somalia or Zaire but is situated close to the heart of Europe, a few dozen kilometres from a developed western country like Italy."

"The riots which turned into an uprising have nothing proletarian about them."

"The Albanian working class is too backward, weak and isolated to have any weight in these events. There has not been one action in which the workers have regrouped or organised as an autonomous force in society. The arming of the proletariat is a fundamental necessity for the revolution, but this can only be done through its specific class organs, the workers councils. In the absence of such an organisation of the working class, the arming of the population can only be manipulated by one or another bourgeois clique, in particular fractions of the army, ex-stalinists or the mafias, and can only result in a bloodbath."

(Extracts from "Decaying capitalism is responsible for the chaos in Albania", published in *Internationalism* No. 98, May-June 1997)



COMMUNISME No. 46, 47 and 48 ...

... COMUNISMO No. 41, 42 and 43



COMRADES

This review is produced by militants whose first language is not English. We arranged for comrades and sympathizers to translate the texts for this review because we see the necessity for internationalism. We are fully aware that there remain various mistakes and imperfections. It is up to you to help us make the next issue better in both content and form.

We badly need English language documents, books, reviews,... on the communist movement to help write and translate articles. We ask our readers to contact us if they wish to give or exchange such titles (e.g. for similar French texts).

They talk us of PEACE...

It is always in the name...

of PEACE... in the Balkans,
of LIBERTY... of the Kosovar or Serbian people,
of HUMANITARIAN AID... towards the "oppressed people",
of humanitarian INTERFERING RIGHT,

...that they prepare us PEACE... of graves!



**THE WAR IN THE BALKANS
IS A WAR AGAINST
THE PROLETARIAT !**

***... they wage WAR
against us !***

**The present massacres are possible, because there is social peace,
submission to the dictatorship of money !**

Proletarian, don't believe that the diplomatic missions, the humanitarian missions, the missionaries of Vatican,... will be able to stop massacres. To oppose the capitalistic barbarity, the only strengths you can count on are your owns and those of your class brothers.

**Against social peace, peace of graves,
let's fight against our own bourgeoisie !**

**Let's oppose to the international union of bourgeoisie,
the growing union of internationalist proletarians !**

**Let's take up the flag
of the world revolution again !**

Internationalist Communist Group

(address: BP54 - Saint-Gilles (BRU) 3 - 1060 Bruxelles - Belgium)
Internet: <http://www.geocities.com/Paris/6368/> - Email: icgckg@hotmail.com



About the Class Struggle in Iraq

By way of an introduction

We have published several articles describing the insurrections of March 1991 in Iraq, which were written as and when information was able to reach us (1). Shortly after the end of the Gulf War, we also published in French the text "Proletariat contre nationalisme" (*Communisme* n°36) in which, from a distance of just over a year, we tried to draw the lessons from these struggles.

From an even greater distance, we are now returning to this question with some supplementary notes centred on the lessons of the insurrection and articulated principally around three axes: the contradictory development of workers' associationism in the appearance of the shoras, the strengths and limits of the insurrectionary actions of the proletariat, new inter-bourgeois wars in the region and the tasks of the proletariat. These notes have been taken from our central review in Spanish (*Comunismo* n°35) which appeared in October 1994. Since then, other information has reached us about the development of nationalism and Islamism as means put in place by the local bourgeoisie to dissolve the proletariat and to lead even those who fought side by side in the insurrection to turn their guns against each other. This information has been assembled in a text which follows "Additional Notes..." that we have entitled "Nationalism and Islam against the Proletariat".

We want to draw our readers' attention in particular to the lessons arising from the insurrection in Sulaymaniyah. What was at stake - as in all insurrections of our class throughout history - was how to develop the revolution in all aspects of social life once the insurrection had been accomplished and how to avoid

the confiscation of the social revolution by its transformation into a simple political "revolution", a simple change of government.

What happened in Iraq does not only show the reality of the contradiction capitalism/communism, but also its future. Capitalist inhumanity is developing everywhere. Everywhere war presents itself as an alternative to the real capitalist crisis. And everywhere the outline of a communist response to this and to all capital's barbarism is beginning to appear. This point is aimed at all those who think that "civilised" Europe will be forever spared the barbarism of war which swept across this part of the world only fifty years ago. It is useful to point out that the alternative "war or revolution" is the same everywhere and that the threat of Europe being transformed into a huge battlefield is just as real as that hanging over other parts of the world so far spared by military conflicts. "Here" too, the war waged by capital on the proletariat must develop to the destructive intensity with which it was conducted "over there" in Iraq. "Here" too, the only possible way to break the chains of this deathly system, which drags us ineluctably to war, remains the struggle for revolution.

Discussion of the lessons from the insurrection in Iraq are situated within this urgency. We appeal to our readers to share their opinions and critiques with us on this particular question, to enable us to develop together a community of struggle against war, the prefiguration of a real human community where Capital, the State, classes and social relations based on exchange and money have finally disappeared.

(1) See "War or Revolution" - *Communism* n°7, April 1992.